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The dangers of victory in the Falklands

Britain's friends are beginning to point out, with appropriate restraint, that victory in the Falklands could have alarming repercussions if not treated with sufficient tact.

One reason why Britain's friends are beginning to worry is Mrs Thatcher's energetic rejection of any other conclusion to the Falklands operation than capitulation by Argentina.

Another is the understandable temptation to hold a khaki election and stabilise the Tories' flagging fortunes in the Commons.

She has it in her power to dissolve Parliament and hold a snap general election the outcome of which would, always assuming the task force returns victorious, be a foregone conclusion.

However one may feel about Mrs Thatcher's style of government, there can be no doubt that she has a keen sense of how people feel out in the country.

There can be no doubt either of her ability to make party-political capital out of gut response in the country at large.

In wartime this ability can prove particularly dangerous in politicians in power. It can obscure their view of requirements over and above party-political and even national considerations.

War, even when it is only an operation on the Falklands scale, has laws of its own. Almost always in the history of ... conflict they have succeeded in ...ing over the common sense of political leaders.

...n you feel victory is within reach ...nt to see the enemy down for the ..., and when it looks like your num... up you will do your damnedest to ... the worst.

...s always been a mistake to believe this mechanism could be elimi... or that one could escape its ...es.

...ical events are always determi... the course of events on the battle... Next to never is the dispute ...rred from the battlefield to the ...ence table.

... only happens when massive ex... pressure is brought to bear on the ... parties, often such energetic political and material pressure that they cannot escape its influence.

Chancellor Schmidt's words of warning or similarly subdued comments from Washington are obviously not enough.

An example of pressure being exerted to effect was the Yom Kippur War, in which America called Israel to heel and Russia restrained the Arabs before either side won (or lost).

The European Community made heavy weather of demonstrating solidarity with Britain by extending the economic sanctions against Argentina indefinitely.

The United States was similarly unenthusiastic about backing Britain and only did so because it had no political choice after its mediation bid had failed.

Siding clearly against Argentina as the undeniable aggressor in the dispute can doubtless be justified, but there can be no telling where it will lead politically, regardless how the fighting ends.

No Latin America country can ever agree to Britain insisting on its legal claim to the islands and using force to try and carry over such an anachronism into the 21st century.

In Latin American eyes Britain's actions are the imperialism of a former colonial power, and many Third World countries share this view with Argentina's neighbours.

The formal right to resist aggression is one thing; the solution of an absolete international problem, a reasonable solution in keeping with the times, is another.

The British victory over the Argentinian garrison, always assuming it is one, will achieve little more than a boost to Britain's ego.

It will distract the British temporarily from their worries, such as high unemployment.

Moments of triumph are not moments when the head rules over the heart, but it will not be long before the British realise that not even the most successful military campaign can really achieve anything in politics.

War is not a satisfactory means of politics; its fruits are faded.

Even assuming the Union Jack is flown over Port Stanley again, all that will have been restored, at a cost that cannot possibly be warranted, is a status quo that is likely to prove untenable in the long term.

Britain will have to hand over the Falklands sooner or later. In the long run it simply cannot protect them, and Argentina will certainly never abandon its claim.

Destruction of the Argentine military potential can amount to little more than

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The Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe meets Chancellor Schmidt in Bonn. (Story page 2). (Photo: Sven Simon)

The Pope takes a pastoral message to Britain

The Pope is living up to his reputation for spontaneity and a mind of his own. He cast the warnings of the Curia to the winds and decided to go ahead with his visit to Britain.

How would Latin America react to this decision, seemingly a slap in the face for Argentina? The world did not have to wait.

Instead, hours after deciding to go to Britain, he sent a high-ranking envoy, Mgr Silvestrini, to Buenos Aires to request permission to visit Argentina as soon as possible.

In a break with Papal tradition John Paul II was prepared to fly straight from Britain to Argentina if necessary to say the same prayer for the victory of peace over war.

Would Britain view this demonstrative impartiality as an insult? We will see soon enough whether the Pope's efforts are to any effect.

He had already sought to justify in as many words his visit to Britain in Argentinian eyes as a strictly pastoral mission with no political background.

But in this context the pastoral mission in no way clashes with political considerations. The present Pope's policy is to fight with enormous energy for peace; a peace centred on the Christian message.

It is very much to his credit that he is not a man to shirk risks, and has no compunction in devoting himself to this task in all humility.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 May 1982)

Logic behind gas deal with Russia

President Reagan was asked in an interview with *Die Welt*, Bonn, how he viewed the Europeans' natural-gas deal with the Soviet Union.

He countered with a question of his own that Europe would do well to ask itself: "Do they want to be dependent on someone who has 900 nuclear warheads aimed at them?"

The President's response leads one to assume that he no longer plans to prevent the natural gas contract, which a number of Senators on Capitol Hill still hope to do.

His answer was based on the sound realisation that it is for Europe itself to decide where it wants to buy its energy.

But it also testified to a misunderstanding widespread in the United States.

First, it is untrue that the natural gas deal would make Europe dependent on the Soviet Union. It will merely spread the energy supply risk.

When the contract is fully operational Soviet natural gas will account for no more than six per cent of primary energy consumption in the Federal Republic of Germany.

That is the same percentage as is supplied by Libya, which cannot be rated the safest of bets either.

Second, Mr Reagan evidently feels the contract is a gift to the Soviet Union that Moscow ought first to earn by good behaviour, either by withdrawing from Afghanistan or by missile cuts.

Desirable though both might be, they cannot, must not be linked to economic ties. Otherwise we would stop trading with the Soviet Union and the East Bloc altogether and the United States would have to stop shipping grain to Russia.

Siegfried Maruhn
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 28 May 1982)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

US returns to missile talks with the zero option

The Geneva talks between America and Russia on a reduction of medium-range missiles in Europe have resumed after a two-month break.

According to Paul Nitze, the chief US delegate, Washington has, during the recess, framed a healthy approach to the next round of talks. But it would be as well not to expect too much.

The strong point of the current US administration is its ability to coin catchy slogans rather than to draft realistic disarmament proposals.

Mr Nitze announced on arriving in Geneva that his basis for negotiations remained the zero option as proposed by President Reagan.

This plan, put forward by the US government in February, provides for Nato to drop missile modernisation in return for a Soviet undertaking to scrap all the Warsaw Pact's medium-range missiles.

As an idea Mr Reagan's zero option is undeniably imaginative, while in propaganda terms it was definitely a winner. But no-one can envisage the Soviet Union having the slightest interest in taking it up.

The stationing of 572 Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe from next year is far from sure, given the growing opposition to the Nato missile modernisation resolution.

Moscow must surely be tempted to let Western governments stew in their own juice and to encourage militant resistance to missile modernisation.

It will certainly find this idea more attractive than the option of scrapping its own 600 or so medium-range missiles.

In Soviet eyes Mr Reagan's proposal is hypocritical in requiring Russia to scrap its most effective weapons whereas the Americans, British and French would not have to scrap a single nuclear device. Moscow has submitted various proposals in Geneva. They range from an arms freeze to a ban on all medium-range (1,000-5,000 km) nuclear missiles in Europe.

One drawback of the Soviet proposals is that Europe is taken to mean a geographical area ending at the Urals, whereas SS-20 missiles, with a range of 4,500km, could from sites beyond the Urals still reach targets all over Western Europe and the Middle East.

A freeze of medium-range missiles at the present level, Mr Brezhnev's moratorium, would merely serve to make Soviet superiority permanent and the officially approved status quo.

Western experts reckon the Soviet Union, having already deployed 300 SS-20s, has completed the SS-20 programme. Superiority no longer makes sense from the point at which substantially more warheads are stockpiled than worthwhile targets are available.

Maybe it would be worthwhile considering whether the Soviet moratorium proposal could pave the way for genuine negotiations. US-Soviet negotiations on medium-range missiles are unlikely to achieve results as long as there are no limits to intercontinental ballistic missiles.

So the news that President Reagan was ready to start talking with the Soviet Union at the end of June on strategic arms reduction was received with a universal sigh of relief.

Sad to say, the US government has also reduced the prospects of the Start talks getting anywhere by making proposals that are effective as publicity rather than realistic.

A reduction of land- and sea-based warheads to 5,000 on each side sounds sensible but the details envisaged would be to the Soviet Union's disadvantage.

They would leave the United States still ahead in long-range bombers and hamper none of such ambitious American arms projects as the MX and Cruise missiles and the new long-range bomber.

In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that more and more Americans wish they still had the Salt 2 terms as an option.

Salt 2 was signed in Vienna in 1979 by President Carter and Brezhnev but conservatives in the US Senate refused to ratify it.

It was exemplary in the balance it struck, providing for both quantitative and qualitative limitations and even partial disarmament.

The call for ratification of Salt 2 is gaining in intensity, having lately been made even by former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who used to be very critical of it.

Within the Reagan administration the arms control debate is so disjointed that neither friend nor foe can work out what the position is.

Pierre Simonitsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 21 May 1982)

Mugabe comes with unique reputation

Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, is one of the few African politicians who are welcome visitors to Europe.

On his first tour of EEC capitals, including Bonn, he was given an unusually cordial reception.

This was one of the few occasions when the customary protestations of mutual esteem could be taken at face value.

In the two years since he came to power he has proved a skilful and trustworthy custodian of his country's interests.

Zimbabwe, unlike many other African countries, does not resemble a bottomless pit. It is a country where investment and aid seem worthwhile.

The chaos that was expected to follow the civil war has not occurred. The armed forces, deprived of their fighting role, have not grown restive.

Political opponents are not thrown into prison or driven into exile. Foreign investors are not deterred by corruption and red tape.

Mr Mugabe, who enjoys a reputation as an unusually intelligent politician and man of moderation, has his country under control.

Bonn backed him from the outset and provided generous financial assistance to get the country going. It has no intention of leaving him in the lurch later.

A stable and prosperous Zimbabwe in close collaboration with the West can lend a hand in the economic consolidation of its poor neighbours Mozambique and Zambia and help to ease their dependence on the East Bloc or south Africa.

Independence need then no longer be equated in Africa with poverty and inability to help oneself.

Bonn's demonstrative support for Mr Mugabe and his country is likely to prove worthwhile, although Zimbabwe is not yet over the top by any stretch of the imagination.

It needs help from the West, and in Zimbabwe's case it is rightly given neither half-heartedly nor as an act of charity.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 May 1982)

Debate reopens on nuclear principles

Defence and deterrence are suddenly back on the agenda in the West after an absence of 20 years. Doubt has been cast on the doctrine of flexible response to an attack by the East.

Doubts apply in particular to a key feature of the concept, that Nato would at an early stage have to use nuclear weapons to offset the Warsaw Pact's conventional superiority.

A start was made six weeks ago by four US public figures, McGeorge Bundy who was security adviser under President Kennedy; retired diplomat and historian George Kennan; former Defence Secretary Robert McNamara; and the first chief US delegate at the Salt talks, Gerard Smith.

They called for a departure from the current Nato doctrine committing the West to a nuclear first strike in response to conventional attack.

Their proposal has since been taken up and modified by Senator Sam Nunn, one of the most influential defence experts on Capitol Hill.

What he proposes is not a unilateral decision to forgo the first strike option but a decision by both sides to do so.

Senator Nunn also calls for less reliance on nuclear devices that could easily be overrun in the event of hostilities and for this reason alone would need to be fired.

There are procedures for destroying nuclear devices in such circumstances, but they would be difficult to carry out under enemy action.

What Senator Nunn wants is faster modernisation of Nato's conventional forces.

It would be surprising if views of this kind had failed to prompt a response from strategic thinkers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Roughly 4,000 US nuclear devices are stockpiled on German soil and 60 per cent have a range of less than 15 miles.

In other words, if they were used they might knock out enemy units but they would also lay waste to Germany.

So Germany has a vital interest in making superfluous any early or inordinate use of nuclear weapons on its territory. The doctrine of a more or less automatic first strike certainly does not bear contemplating.

For Germany it is a matter of national survival to raise the nuclear threshold as high as possible.

This is a point on which Christian Democratic defence expert Manfred Wörner and Social Democratic security specialist Egon Bahr are absolutely agreed.

Both have lately commented on the subject. Herr Wörner said the aim must be in the long term to arrive at a drastic reduction in the number of short-range nuclear weapons.

With this aim in view he called for the firm use of modern conventional weapons technology, which favoured the defender rather than the aggressor.

Herr Bahr thereupon announced details of equally long-term proposals for a total withdrawal of nuclear weapons from countries that do not have nuclear potentials of their own.

In the conventional sector he called for the establishment of approximate parity.

Herr Bahr's aims are much more far-reaching than Herr Wörner's, but they have in common a degree of caution with regard to methods.

Herr Bahr, like Herr Wörner, remains strongly in favour of Nato. He has no intention of forfeiting options, not even the first-strike option, until new realities have been established. And he does not approve of decoupling from America.

Herr Wörner estimates the extra expense of conventional armament needed at DM1bn a year.

It shows, however, that the Bonn Opposition is no keener than the present government to expand the Bundeswehr at any great rate.

Nuclear weapons, Mayor Richard von Weizsäcker of West Berlin has said, should be kept in the very back cupboard. This is a view everyone will share.

But how are we to set about putting it into practice?

At the Defence Ministry in Bonn greater store seems still to be set by clinging to old strategies and systems than by sounding out new ideas.

Yet the questions that await an answer are self-evident. They are:

First, how are we to get rid of the more than 2,000 nuclear warheads that worry us but not the Russians?

Second, what shape must conventional reinforcements take that boost defence capacity and Nato's deterrent power without effecting a militarisation of the Federal Republic of Germany as a front-line state?

Third, what might the change-over cost? It is high time debate began on all three questions. Otherwise we will run the risk of having them answered for us again by Washington. *Theo Sommer*

(Die Zeit, 28 May 1982)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Opposition is waiting in the wings, but when will the curtain call come?

The Bonn Opposition has caught up a massive amount of ground over the past year and a half.

Opinion surveys give it more than 50 per cent of the vote; there is in Helmut Kohl a candidate for the chancellorship who even the CSU does not oppose; and there are some promising undisputed programmes.

All that the Opposition needs is the power. It is confident that this will come. "The others are dead, but they won't lie down", is the way the CDU/CSU sees it.

The old fear that it might win one state election after another but fail in Bonn has disappeared.

Sometimes this confidence turns into euphoria.

Only a few weeks ago there was hardly a day when the conservatives were not told by their leaders that the coalition had reached the end of the line and that it was staying in power only because it resorted to all sorts of tricks. Many felt that it was only a matter of a very short time.

Sceptics like Baden-Württemberg's Prime Minister, Lothar Späth, naturally had a hard time in this overall mood of optimism. Yet he continued warning that he knew of many a funeral without interment.

Politicians like the CSU's Franz Josef Strauss and Friedrich Zimmermann expressed the general mood when they said that the SPD-FDP coalition would collapse before the year is over.

It was therefore not surprising that expectations kept growing.

Whenever CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl toured the country he was faced with the question: Why has nothing happened yet?

Why did the Opposition not topple a government reluctant to resign?

Even the CDU group in the Bundestag deluded itself about the constitutional possibilities for new elections, which they regarded as the best solution.

So Kohl and other Opposition leaders constantly had to moderate their hopes.

The atmosphere did not change until after the SPD party congress in Munich that took a rather more conciliatory course than predicted.

Today, men like Gerhard Stoltenberg openly say that they don't anticipate a breakdown of the coalition before 1984.

Franz Josef Strauss now goes along with people like Stoltenberg, saying that a change of government in the present circumstances marked by economic problems would in fact not be desirable right now.

CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler has joined this general trend and stopped calling for new elections.

Such attitudes are evidence of the realisation that a party cannot in the long run endure having "toppled the government nine times without anything having happened," as one CDU state prime minister puts it.

The hope-dampening operation seems to be functioning. Both at the top and the bottom there is now a mood which party insiders describe as follows: a sudden change can happen any time, but it will happen no later than 1984. All that matters is to be prepared.

The party brass clearly favours any solution that would enable the conservatives to have four rather than two years at the helm ahead of them once they have formed a government because otherwise they would not have enough time to convince the electorate of the quality of the new beginning.

Theoretically at least new elections are still seen by some as the right approach. The fact that the CDU/CSU thinks it needs four years has nothing to do with doubts as to its own ability but simply with the magnitude of the problems that have to be dealt with.

No matter how much outsiders tell the conservatives that the present loss of confidence in the coalition does not go hand in hand with growing confidence in the opposition, the self-assurance of the CDU/CSU has remained unchanged.

It acts like a prize fighter who gives the impression of great strength simply because the opponent looks a bit like a lightweight who has slipped into the heavyweight division.

Kohl and some other opposition politicians see the next genuine chance of the government throwing in the towel in the Hesse state election in September.

They pin their hopes not so much on their winning the election and the coalition quitting because the Bundesrat would then be able to block every SPD-FDP move; instead, their hopes rest with the assumption that the FDP will become totally insecure and will therefore try to escape the SPD vortex.

It is above all Kohl who sees it this way, which is not surprising in his situation.

Despite some latent doubts as to his leadership qualities, particularly strong among the CDU/CSU Bundestag group, nobody could disregard him once the Opposition needed a chancellorship candidate.

His policy blend of inactivity and preventing conflicts has enabled the conservatives to watch in relative harmony as the coalition slipped to its nadir.

Even such possible contenders for the chancellorship as Bernhard Vogel, Richard von Weizsäcker, Kurt Biedenkopf and Lothar Späth operate on the assumption that Kohl must how be given a second chance — either in 1982 or in 1984. Only afterwards can there be a reshuffle of the cards.

But the longer the waiting the more are frustrations within the party and the Opposition in parliament likely to zero in on the man who promised a change and whose job it is to bring it about.

For this if for no other reason, it was an excellent idea on Kohl's part to arrange a major welcoming demonstration in Bonn just before President Reagan's visit.

The demonstration on 5 June will provide a splendid safety valve for the party's need for action and solidarity. This is clearly shown by the lively interest of party members: the rallying of the demonstrators has proved so easy that the party leaders can expect a turnout of at least 100,000, making it equal anything the leftists have been able to mount.

For the first time since Adenauer's days, the conservatives have now — at least on the surface — reached a state in which no infighting hampers the drive towards the reins of power.

This is why Lower Saxony's Prime Minister, Ernst Albrecht, bolstered by his election victory, was ill advised to reopen the rivalry over the chancellorship candidacy by obliquely throwing his hat into the ring when he said: "I'll be available if I'm drafted."

What makes Albrecht's statement even more a breach of party discipline is that even Strauss has said that Kohl is not only the candidate for an ad hoc change but also for 1984.

Albrecht has thus harmed his own interests by his bold advance. By the same token, Kohl was assured of general applause when he brought up Albrecht's remark at the last CDU national executive meeting.

As a party insider puts it: "The party wants no discussion over candidates: it wants success." *Rudolf Grosskopff*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 30 May 1982)

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a breather for Britain in this day and age.

After what they are sure to have felt to be a shameful humiliation the Argentinians will concentrate flat-out on rearming as soon as possible, and it seems reasonable to assume that they will use any opportunity available, including support from Moscow if need be.

The Americans and Europeans will have been to mend the fences broken in their ties with Latin America, especially since they no longer feel duty bound to stand by Britain at war.

That seems sure to lead to fresh burdens on the Western alliance and long-term discord that could have serious repercussions.

The world will long count the cost of the Falklands crisis, and Britain cannot hope to achieve more than a Pyrrhic victory.

Erhard Englisch

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 27 May 1982)

SPD executive votes out the rebellious Eppler

Erhard Eppler, outspoken critic of the Chancellor and spokesman of the SPD left wing, has failed to gain re-election to the SPD national executive.

This means that the left wing is no longer represented in the party's top executive body.

Long before the party's national congress in Munich, where Eppler only just managed to get re-elected to the Board, there had been considerable reservations about the former chairman of the Baden-Württemberg SPD.

The criticism of Eppler, coming primarily from the SPD right wing, was constantly fueled by his censure of the Chancellor's security policy.

And his role in the peace movement, which he is using as a stage for his attacks against the double Nato decision, has also been a constant thorn in the side of many Social Democrats.

By getting rid of Eppler, the SPD's national executive has also lost a widely acclaimed ideologue of the environmentalist movement.

This has strengthened the SPD's environment-orientated voters in their view that the party is not particularly ecology-minded. This is bound to make even more young voters shift towards the Greens (environmentalists).

And the peace movement will argue that the SPD wanted to muzzle an opponent of the Nato decision.

Opponents of the national executive decision argued that retaining the feisty ex-teacher would make it easier to control him.

But this has not worked in the past, as shown by Eppler's position in the ecology movement and his criticism of the official security policy which will certainly continue to be heard.

The only difference is that he will no longer be a national executive member though still a member of the Board . . . and how many people know the difference?

SPD Chairman Willy Brandt was one of those who favoured the re-election of Eppler, and he said so before the ballots were cast.

As a result, Eppler's defeat is also a defeat for the SPD leader, showing once more that the majority of his party thinks little of his integration policy.

But personal motives also have something to do with the outcome.

The Chancellor had long been annoyed by Eppler. They had had many a heated dispute in the executive.

Others were bothered by the aura of purity of though in which Eppler likes to cloak himself.

There was nothing left at the executive vote of the rapprochement at the Munich party congress between Eppler and Schmidt and the political ideas represented by them.

The vote by secret ballot settled old accounts. But this is no reason for the party right wingers to be jubilant.

Eppler will continue his criticism and will gain an even larger following among the extra-parliamentary protest movement.

Though he is not the stuff of which martyrs are made, many will now try to turn him into exactly that.

Eppler's removal will wide the chasm between opposing SPD factions still further. New tensions are thus already programmed.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 25 May 1982)



Erhard Eppler . . . decision against not unanimous. (Photo: Poly-Press)

■ GERMANY

Bonn and East Berlin: the talk and the effort go on despite the setbacks

Intra-German ties seem to be developing in inverse relation to the weather. In the biting December cold of 1981, when Helmut Schmidt and Erich Honecker met on the snow-covered shores of Werbellinsee, the tender plant of all-German hope sprouted.

Five months later, in sunny May, frost has descended.

Ever since the GDR started to replace the go-ahead signs of Werbellinsee with stop signs, *Deutschlandpolitik* has been making negative headlines.

Did the Bonn government kindle false hopes after the intra-German summit ... or was, in fact, Schmidt's trip to the GDR a mistake to start with?

A just answer can only be given if *Deutschlandpolitik* is removed from the hectic of day-to-day politics, of rumours, denials and announcements. In other words: if it is seen as part of an overall perspective.

A curious feature transpires once this is done. You would think that the generally explosive situation in this country, marked by economic woes, unemployment and disputes within the coalition would have made intra-German relations a secondary matter.

Yet *Deutschlandpolitik* is increasingly becoming a major issue — and that has nothing to do with Klaus Bölling's shift from his East Berlin post to his old position as government spokesman. *Nor has it anything to do with the approaching deadline for the extension of* the swing, the interest-free credit facility granted to the GDR for intra-German trade.

There is a noticeable intra-German impatience in the air.

The ailing relationship seemed forgotten for a number of years — as shown by the fact that the 17 June public holiday (Day of German Unity) has gradually lost its meaning and become a national picnic day.

Many politicians promoted this development through their incessant reunification litany that eventually got on everybody's nerves and dulled all-German sensibilities.

On the other hand, the attempt within the framework of Ostpolitik to reverse the former antagonism between the two Germanies and turn it into a limited neighbourliness by "accepting realities" dashed all hopes of national unity.

Of the two original objectives of Bonn's *Deutschlandpolitik* — preservation of national unity and establishment of good neighbourly relations — the first appears to have fallen by the wayside.

After years of détente, the severe setbacks in East-West relations (marked by Afghanistan, Poland and the muscle flexing of the Reagan Administration in Washington) could not fail to dramatically affect intra-German ties as well.

The GDR gave priority to its drive to seal itself off from the other Germany, as shown by the arbitrary and steep increase in the compulsory minimum amount visitors from the West must change into East German money on entering the GDR.

But this stiff and uncompromising attitude by East Berlin could well have reawakened the dormant all-German drive, though of course in another generation.

Events highlighting our common history (such as the Prussian Exhibition) acquired a new meaning.

But quite apart from such spectacular events, purely human considerations awakened the feeling — especially among the young — that it is worth looking across the border.

There was talk of a new nationalism, but the morer apt interpretation is probably simply that there is a feeling of belonging together.

This sentiment has nothing to do with the old reunification drive in terms of statehood but with making the border more permeable.

At the same time, Bonn made a new attempt to overcome the low in intra-German relations, and signals to the same effect also came from East Berlin.

The framework of the official *Deutschlandpolitik* had meanwhile changed. Empty Bonn coffers prevented the practical approach of trading money for concessions and human easements.

The GDR leadership became increasingly obsessed with status issues in a bid to cement its sovereignty as a state of equal status.

This was the situation preceding the Schmidt-Honecker meeting, which finally came about on the third attempt.

As the date of the meeting approached, Bonn became from day more aware of the dimness of the prospects of achieving a quick and marked progress in mutual relations.

The expectations pinned on the meeting became lower and lower until they boiled down to the formula that the very fact of the two statesmen meeting had its own value.

But the meeting became a spectacular event that kindled hopes — if for no other reason because the talks seemed to show that there was a sort of minimum consensus on basic issues.

The fact that martial law in Poland would impose the next major strain on relations had not been taken into account by either side.

It has once more become obvious how much intra-German relations are affected by events outside the two Germanies.

The Bonn government should have realised this. It is an old truism that what must be presented to the public in matters of *Deutschlandpolitik* is what has actually been signed, sealed and delivered.

Lamentations are as useless in intra-German affairs as is muscle flexing aimed at making the other side yield. An example here is the linkage of the swing and compulsory money exchange.

Trying to obtain concessions by wielding the swing stick can only make the East Germans more stubborn and uncompromising, especially in view of the insecurity and disunity in their own ranks.

As part of a long-term development the Schmidt-Honecker meeting was in no way some sort of exotic excursion but came about quite naturally.

The talks between the two statesmen have not reversed the realisation in East Berlin that normal neighbourly relations must be achieved.

Seen in this light, Schmidt and Honecker

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The day the iron curtain came down 30 years ago

Thirty years ago, on 26 May 1952, orders were given to seal off the occupation zone border.

Units of the "German Border Police" were placed under the command of the East German Ministry for State Security as troops.

The "German People's Police" immediately became the only authority allowed to issue inter-zone passes.

"I remember it all as if it were yesterday. It was then that the division of Germany began," says Elisabeth T., a farmer's wife in the Lüchow-Dannenberg district directly along the intra-German border.

She comes from the other side. "I married a man from here in 1950. Then, we still believed that Germany would stay together.

"Nobody thought of two German states or of this border. It call came suddenly in May 1952, and I couldn't go across to my parents and the rest of my family, nor could they come to me.

"I haven't spoken to my parents since then. And then, in 1978, I saw that the entire village I came from, including my parents' house, was torn down."

Wiping her eyes with her apron, Elisabeth adds: "I'm not doing badly at all, but what does make me unhappy is that I cannot even go to the cemetery on the other side."

Overnight, 32 railway lines, three motorways, 31 secondary roads, 80 rural roads and thousands of municipal lanes and private access paths were closed.

Only five roads and highways and seven rail links that were subject to strict controls remained available for traffic between the two Germanies.

Places like Helmstedt, Wartha and Büchen of which nobody had heard before suddenly became generally known as checkpoints for entry into the "First Workers' and Farmers' State on German Soil" as the GDR calls itself.

Barbed wire fence were erected along the whole border. Roads and bridges had steel spikes rammed into them to prevent any vehicle traffic.

The emblems of the barbed wire manufacturers, companies in the west, were left in place on the drums to make people in the East believe the fence had been erected by the West Germans.

The measure came as a shock for people living along both sides of the fence since the European Advisory Commission under Sir William Strang (Britain), John Winant (USA) and Feyodor Guzev (USSR) had divided Germany into occupational zones without any regard for family and economiy ties.

As a result family and friendship ties were severed. Business ties barely existed because industry and commerce had been nationalised in the East.

There were still a few farmland leases across the border that naturally lapsed instantly.

Western lessees could no longer reach their fields in the East. The lessors of these fields were no longer paid in cash but in the form of parcels.

Since that 26 May 1952 the Federal Republic of Germany has had what it calls the *Zonenrandgebiet* (the edge of the zone region) along its Eastern border.

The term "zone" results from the former attitude of the Bonn government whereby the GDR was simply the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany.

The delineation and naming of the area along the demarcation line was necessary in purely administrative terms to enable the finance minister to enforce customs duty regulations under special provisions.

The *Zonenrandgebiet* is governed by the same legal provisions as the *Zollgrenzgebiet* (customs duty border area).

Many followers of Willy Brandt's new *Ostpolitik* are annoyed by the fact that the signposts of villages in the area still carry the designation *Zonenrandgebiet* instead of *Zollgrenzgebiet*. But nothing has changed despite protests.

The fact is that, under the terms of the Basic Treaty, the GDR is not a foreign country in terms of customs regulations.

The severing of links in May 1952 also marked the beginning of the order to East German forces to shoot would-be at refugees along the border.

Close to 200 people have since lost their lives because they wanted to go from Germany to Germany.

At the time the barbed wire fence was erected, the Federal Border Police (BGS) had a strength of 10,000 men. They were confronted on the other side of the fence by 25,000 men belonging to the (East) "German Border Police".

It was not until after the 17 June 1953 uprising in East Germany that the BGS strength was boosted to 20,000 against the votes of SPD and KPD (Communist Party).

The East German Border Police had grown to 48,000 men by 1953.

It still has the same strength today but now the GDR guards are called "Border Troops of the GDR".

The BGS no longer patrols the border with 20,000 men. Its main task now is to safeguard internal security. And a mere 22-man unit of the BGS now guards a 118-kilometre stretch of the border.

It is now 30 years since the communists in the other Germany began to fortify the border in the heart of Germany.

Few people today remember that it used to be different and that there was a time when one could travel from Uelzen to Salzwedel or from Duderstadt to Worbis without making a detour.

May 26, 1952 was the day on which the division of Germany became an accomplished fact. West Germans came to terms with this fact; and the Bundestag did not even see fit to debate the issue in May and June of that year.

But the day should be remembered.

H. Kamphausen
(Die Welt, 25 May 1982)

■ THE TRADE UNIONS

Tough times ahead, admits new federation chief

Ernst Breit, the new DGB leader, was presented with a broom on being elected general secretary of the trade union confederation at its congress in Berlin. There could hardly have been a broader hint that the new broom was expected to sweep clean in a trade union movement shaken by allegations of financial impropriety at the top in connection with the Neue Heimat affair.

Delegates to the fifth congress of the Trades Union Federation (DGB) will have left Berlin without any real satisfaction.

The DGB may still be one of the largest trade union confederations in the world with its eight million members, but delegates will have realised in Berlin at the latest, there are limits to union power.

To talk in terms of a crisis would be to overstate the case, but the DGB is not what it was only a few years ago. Gone are its old drive and momentum.

Partly due to faults of its own making, partly due to the overall economic situation, the DGB has been thrown back on to the defensive.

Its position is one in which holding on to what has been achieved in the past must be rated a success.

One of the tasks a DGB congress can be expected to tackle is taking stock of what has been accomplished over the past few years.

For nearly 30 years after the war the balance was well in the black. This time, for the first time in the DGB's history, it was very definitely not.

For the past two years real earnings have declined. About two million people are out of work. There has been a first wave of welfare cuts.

These are only a few of the points that are not in keeping with the trade unions and how they see their role.

It would be self-deception to take an optimistic view of the future, the new DGB general secretary Ernst Breit said in his first programmatic speech.

The unions cannot indeed look forward to golden years; they face the toughest period in their post-war history.

They will have heavy burdens to bear and need to show greater mobility and flexibility than they have been doing lately in many respects.

The economic crisis and unemployment that hit the unions hard in their traditional sphere of activity call for new ideas and strategies.

Caution is also called for to ensure that the extremist left-wing fringe, which enjoys the support of say roughly one delegate in four at present, does not gain the upper hand.

This is one of the reasons why it is so important to clear up the Neue Heimat affair, which could be dynamite in the trade union movement.

Yet the Berlin congress contributed little towards even an initial attempt to come to terms with the most pressing problems the unions face.

They are a bit of a mixed bag structurally, but that is by no means the only reason why the DGB is finding it hard to launch out in new directions.

The entire movement is still strongly hidebound by classical patterns of trade union thought and activity based on the assumption that there will always be growth and more to share round.

The unions have realised that they are going to have to make do with less, but they have yet to reach the right conclusions from this sad realisation.

Fundamental doubts about the free market economy were raised again in Berlin and accompanied by calls for more state control. Mention was again made of a major employment programme, to be financed by a surtax on incomes and unemployment insurance contributions by civil servants, who are currently exempted.

Heinz Oskar Vetter (left), the outgoing DGB leader, and his successor, Ernst Breit.
(Photo: dpa)

There was no discussion of the fact that these plans fail to command majority support in the Bundestag: it was merely noted with a grunt of dissatisfaction.

The Berlin congress also sidestepped the fundamental issue of how to bring about a return to substantial economic growth as the sole guarantee of job creation to end large-scale unemployment.

It also set aside the Neue Heimat affair, but it was out of sight, not out of mind. Many delegates were most unhappy, suspecting the union leaders of trying to divert attention from their own dirty washing.

Allegations of financial impropriety in connection with the trade union-owned housing corporation have hit the unions hard, calling the solidarity of the "exploited masses" into question and perceptibly driving a wedge between the rank and file and the leadership.

A trade union rocked by scandals of one kind or another could easily become unpredictable.

A sense of realism was what the unions needed, Breit said.

He was also more to the point in stressing that you could only spend money once and that poorer financial conditions necessarily set limits to a more militant union approach.

Breit will not have an easy time, but one hopes he can lead the organisation out of its difficulties.

The economic and social set-up can only function efficiently if the trade union movement is in working order.

Gert Goebel
(Mannheimer Morgen, 21 May 1982)

Continued from page 4

either profited from becoming acquainted and have become more calculable to each other. Neither can now rule out more talks.

The misunderstanding by the public lay in the assumption that, following the summit in East Germany, every day would henceforth be an all-German red-letter day.

Now comes the tedious work on details which include economic, cultural and person-to-person relations.

But the other German state with its drive for sovereignty must also realise that all this would be pointless unless the doors are opened still wider.

It can hardly serve East Germany's desire for international recognition to present itself to the world as a prison in the heart of Europe.

So the compulsory exchange remains a test of the first order for it.

Thomas Meyer
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 May 1982)

The post office sorter who got to the top

Outgoing DGB leader Heinz Oskar Vetter drily told his successor, Ernst Breit, there was no crown to hand over. All he felt he could hand over on reaching retirement age was the sense of responsibility for which the job called.

But Herr Breit was given a couple of symbolic gifts at the Berlin trade union congress after taking over at the helm of the 8m-strong DGB.

To mark his elevation from 10 years as leader of the postal workers' union to general secretary of the trade union confederation he was given a steering wheel for one.

And from Heinz Kluncker of ÖTV, the public service and transport workers' union, he got a big new broom. Is Breit cut out to give the union movement a clean sweep?

Often described as level-headed and objective, he was urged to stand as successor to Herr Vetter by Herr Kluncker when the outgoing executive's choice, Alois Pfeiffer, came under fire for investing in a tax write-off company in connection with the Neue Heimat affair.

Herr Pfeiffer stood down as candidate but was at the receiving end of the congress's disapproval when he came last in the poll for membership of the DGB executive.

"You'll no longer be sitting alongside Heinz Kluncker on the executive," Herr Vetter told Herr Breit, who is a personal friend of the burly ÖTV leader's.

"Many things look different when viewed from the head of the table, but difficulties will be yours by the hundredweight." For once at the Berlin congress this comment raised a laugh for Herr Vetter from the delegates.

They could hardly fail to miss the point, which was a harmless dig at Herr Kluncker's weight.

Ernst Breit was asked last year whether he would be prepared to stand for DGB general secretary. He preferred not to; his wife was seriously ill. She has since died.

He has spent all his working life with the Post Office and as a union official. At the Bundespost he worked at most of the jobs available in his grade, first as a counter clerk, then as a sorter, and finally as postmaster at a medium-sized office in Neustadt, Holstein.

From 1959 to 1971 he served as chairman of the Bundespost's staff council. He has since lived near Bonn and commuted to the union head office in Frankfurt.

As general secretary of the fourth-largest DGB union he gained as wide a range of experience as one could expect of a man in his position.

He negotiated an agreement to protect postal workers from redundancy due to rationalisation. He persuaded the Bundespost to train more apprentices.

In 1980 he negotiated better provisions for shift workers, calling members out on strike to force the employer's hand.

He is particularly proud of the social and career policy advocated by the postal workers' union, which is aimed at standardisation of public service regulations.

His second-in-command at the postal workers' union, Gustav Fehrenbach, will be moving with him from Frankfurt to the DGB head office in Düsseldorf.

The two men shook hands at length when they were both elected at Berlin.

The two men come from opposite ends of the country, Breit from the North Sea coast of Schleswig-Holstein, Fehrenbach from Baden in the south-west.

They are also members of different political parties. Breit is a Social Democrat, Fehrenbach a Christian Democrat.

This was doubtless one of the reasons why Fehrenbach was chosen. The DGB makes a point of observing strict party-political neutrality and balance.

Herr Fehrenbach says he has no intention of campaigning for the CDU in the trade union movement. His aim is to make the Christian Democrats more aware of working class interests.

He even apologises, as it were, for his Bavarian accent. Bavaria is the home state of Franz Josef Strauss, a right-winger and long-time bogyman in the eyes of most unionists.

He owes his accent, he explains, to having moved to his uncle's in Bavaria when his parents died. He was a boy of nine when he made the move.

Günther M. Wiedemann
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 20 May 1982)

■ THE ECONOMY

Industry chief warns against the 'delusion of export figures'

The latest figures show that production is only running one per cent ahead of last year and that orders are about three per cent up, Professor Rolf Rodenstock told the annual meeting of the Federation of German Industry (BDI).

Professor Rodenstock, who was re-elected president, said he was somewhat disappointed the way the economy was developing. He hoped that the modest growth target of 1.5 per cent would be reached this year.

It was "a dangerous illusion" to think that last year's export performance had eliminated doubts about German industry's competitiveness on world markets.

"The fact is that German industry's competitiveness declined in the 1970s," he said.

As proof he cited the rapid advance of foreign suppliers on German markets and attributed this to a deteriorating cost-profit structure.

Rodenstock stressed that the growth in the export sector only seemingly disproved this. Many companies, he said, had been forced to accept orders at any price because they were producing at only 78 to 80 per cent of capacity.

Though Germany has managed to recapture market shares abroad, this has done little to improve earnings, he said.

This was tellingly shown by the fact that the capital cushion of companies had dropped to 21 per cent. The record number of bankruptcies went hand in hand with the record low in earnings.

The drop in earnings adjusted for inflation amounted to 25 per cent in the past two years, said Rodenstock.

The failure of the economy to get off the ground was becuse of this sharp decline.

"As a result, the inclination to invest has also declined markedly — with all the negative consequences for growth and employment this entails."

And since any sustained improvement in innovation and investment conditions is tied to improved company earnings, tax relief was a must.

This, Rodenstock said, should be done by gradual reduction of earnings-related taxes. He called for consistent government promotion of research. Rodenstock emphasised that the BDI had always geared its demands to the state of public sector finances.

Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff said he feared a disastrous race for government credit facilities in financing exports unless the latest failure to reach agreement by the EEC Council of Ministers on an OECD proposal could be bridged by a compromise solution.

The conditions the German business community now complains about could one day well be seen as the rosy past.

He emphasised the Brussels disunity on farm prices and the British contribution to the EEC budget.

He also pointed to what he called "naturally unpleasant" sanctions against Argentina on which the EEC countries disagreed among each other and which were extended for seven days only. (Sanctions have now been extended indefinitely.)

As to America's economic policy, Count Lambsdorff said that the burden of adjustment was clearly shifted on to the Federal Reserve Bank.

He said that President Reagan's supply-side economics had proved to be a combination of high and still growing budgetary deficits and a tight money policy during the President's 14 months in office.

Americans themselves were hardest hit by the high interest rates. But the world economy as a whole also felt the effect and the adaptation process in other countries was being hampered.

Washington's neo-protectionist ideas had caused concern in Japan and Europe. But Japan pursued an aggressive export and a restrictive import policy.

Its capital markets were being manipulated, which meant the danger of countermeasures in other countries.

President Carstens stressed that the Federal Republic of Germany compared favourably with other countries. But he also said that this was no consolation to the 1.7 million jobless nor did it improve the chances of 135,000 unemployed juveniles.

It also in no way makes it easier for the 120,000 self-employed who became insolvent last year.

It was in hard times that the social market economy has always proved adaptable. He praised the "responsible attitudes" of the trade unions and the employers' association on unemployment and job security.

The president mentioned the moderate wage deals and the growing realisation that "no investment stimuli can be achieved without a sensible wage policy."

(Handelsblatt, 19 May 1982)

Political influence blamed for lack of investment

A lack of political direction is the reason for the continued reluctance to invest in German industry, the president of the Federation of German Industry (BDI) told the annual meeting.

Professor Rolf Rodenstock said the business community had been plagued by this lack of direction for some years.

Economic policy had largely become a matter of psychology. If the only things that mattered were wages, prices, interest rates, export orders and balances of payments, industrialists would have taken the courage and invested. But they weren't and they hadn't.

He said growing unemployment meant a growing danger that the Social Democrats would manage to wrest from their Free Democratic partners concessions that would boil down to government-administered unemployment rather than a boost to private initiative that would create jobs.

Economic stagnation, unemployment and financial problems had made the tug of war within the coalition even fiercer.

For Count Lambsdorff, the BDI criticism was ironic. He has lately been referred to in some quarters as "the business count," with the aim of implying that he puts business ahead of worker interests.

Speaking at the BDI meeting, he said the picture painted by Professor Rodenstock in the annual report was distorted.

He accused the business community of having lost sight of the difference between Social Democratic Party congress resolutions and joint SPD-FDP government policy.

Even if there should be a change of government in Bonn, he said, there would be little change in the economic policy.

Decoded, this can only be interpreted as meaning: "As long as we, the Free Democrats, have a say in government policy the basic principles of the market economy will remain inviolate."

But this FDP thesis has lost much of its credibility. It was not only the Munich party congress of the SPD but also the Berlin trade union congress that called for government investment steering, demonstrating increased union power *which has caused deep insecurity among the business community.*

Rodenstock conceded that public statements of this nature cannot be equated with union policy — especially in view of the trade unions' realism.

But in the same breath he said that the business community considers inadequate a tranquilliser to the effect that the SPD party congress resolutions were one thing and government policy another.

The economic turning point was yet to come, even if Count Lambsdorff deluded himself into believing that it had already taken place.

(Rheinische Post, 19 May 1982)

'Canny use of credits' helped sales performance overseas

There are several reasons for Germany's export miracle last year.

The weakness of the deutschemark, which made German goods cheaper abroad and thus gave us an edge over our competition, was one.

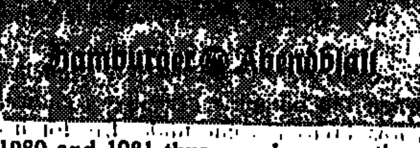
Another was the relative price stability of German goods and services with which other nations could not compete.

But Germany's industry has also adjusted to changed conditions. The Bundesbank has discovered that German exporters have been cleverly using export credits.

In the past two years, German businessmen have extended the due dates for invoices.

As a result, foreign buyers owed German companies DM100bn at the end of 1981, equivalent to a whole quarter's exports.

Money owed to German exporters in



1980 and 1981 thus rose by more than DM20bn.

These export credits were financed by slower restocking or reducing stocks to make the money available.

Exporters also made use of short term credits from foreign banks.

They found out that the interest to be paid on Euro-DM was lower than they would have had to pay for an overdraft at home.

Many exporters made use of Swiss franc loans at lower interest rates.

Export success is thus due to businessmen making use of every chance available.

Burkhardt Salchow

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 22 May 1982)

Figures not only yardstick for China trade

Statisically, China would appear to be one of the less important trading partners of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Last year's trade volume of DM4bn was smaller than our trade with Greece.

But Germany attributes great importance to the visit to Bonn of Peking's foreign trade minister, Mrs Chen Muhua.

One reason is that China is still the only state controlled economies that has enough scope to expand its foreign trade.

Plagued by enormous debts to the West and balance of payments problems, the East Bloc countries have little leeway for expansion.

Peking, on the other hand, owes relatively little to the West.

There have been many setbacks in trade with China, but it is still regarded as a lucrative market, if for no other reason than because of size and population.

The prospects for constructive talks in Bonn are favourable because some Sino-German projects that had been cancelled are now getting under way after all.

There is a good chance that the deal about the assembly of a Volkswagen in China will be closed.

In addition, China's abundant natural resources naturally inspire the imagination of German businessmen.

Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff told his Chinese guests he hopes the German oil exploration company Deminex would be taken into account when concessions were made.

German exporters have profited not only from the reputation of the hallmark "Made in Germany" but also from the fact that this country tops the list of China's trading partners and that it is the only country still to achieve a trade surplus in trade with China.

Companies interested in trading with China can rely on the fact that patience pays off at some point.

China's slow pace in foreign trade is not the worst of preconditions for a sustained expansion of economic ties.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 18 May 1982)

■ THE EEC

Agricultural policy 'always a little monster'

Two major EEC decisions have been made after long and tough bargaining sessions. First, new farm prices have been set by majority decision instead of the usual unanimous agreement. Britain is not happy that, after 16 years the Luxembourg Compromise was ignored. Under this arrangement, decisions considered to be of national interest by a member country were not taken by majority decision. The other decision was to give Britain a rebate of about DM2.04bn over this year from its EEC budget contribution. It will get a further rebate if its payments rise above DM3.7bn. Germany will pay only DM375m of the deficit because it already pays more than DM5bn.

Birth defects don't always show themselves at the time of delivery. That is no excuse in the case of the Common Agricultural Policy: right from the start it was clear that a deformed child had been brought into the world.

The midwives involved will not admit that anything was wrong. But there was. Long before Britain became irritable over farm price negotiations.

Now farm prices have been fixed by majority decision, the first time that the traditional consensus has been abandoned.

The 1958 Stresa Conference that laid down the Community's agriculture policy with the central objective of preserving family farms was too optimistic to be realisable.

Ever since, we have only been pretending that it is possible to establish a uniform market for agricultural products despite the fact that none of the necessary preconditions — such as a common currency — exist.

Only the enormous and still growing amounts of money that are being pumped into this centrally controlled and anything but free market have kept this artificial structure going.

There is no likelihood of a common currency, the precondition of a uniform agriculture market, in the foreseeable future.

To bring this about, the EEC would need a uniform economic and fiscal policy that would presuppose forgoing national sovereignty rights. And nobody is prepared to do this.

On the contrary. The Community has for years been relapsing into thinking along national lines.

The common currency has therefore had to be replaced by various substitutes from the very beginning.

It is actually hard to fathom how uniform farm prices are arrived at.

The first crutch used in achieving this (in 1962) was the accounting unit based on the dollar which at that time was still tied to gold.

This unit, which was also known as the green dollar, was based on the gold-dollar parity of the time, which was 0.88867088 grammes of gold per dollar.

The farm prices were fixed in these accounting units and then converted into national currencies according to exchange rates.

The basic principle in negotiating farm prices has remained unchanged except for two differences: the green dollar has been replaced by the European currency unit Ecu and conversion has become so confusing due to the many fluctuations in exchange rates as to have made it necessary to abandon the idea of uniform prices.

To protect farmers from the consequences of currency disparities, the EEC introduced "green exchange rates" in 1971. They safeguard farmers from the vagaries of appreciating and depreciating currencies.

The idea is that, if a country revalues, the farm prices in that country's national currency must be lowered by the rate of revaluation and vice versa.

Since the introduction of the system of border offset levies, uniform prices have existed only on paper.

But how do these border offset levies, which depend on official exchange rates and the green rates, work?

If a country devalues, its farm products must become cheaper in other EEC countries and those countries' farmers will be at a disadvantage. To prevent this, the country that has devalued charges a levy for exports and grants a premium for imports. A country that had revalued does exactly the opposite.

The Federal Republic of Germany, a country with an appreciating currency, charges a levy for imports and pays its farmers a premium for exports.

This complicated mechanism explains why the farm prices for 1982/83 have been raised by only 7 per cent in Germany and by 10 per cent in member nations with a higher inflation rate.

Apart from the actual farm prices, Brussels also decided to change the green rates: the French franc was devalued by 1.8 per cent and the deutschemark revalued by 2.9 per cent.

For Germany, this amounts to a reduction of the border offset levy from 8 to 5.1 per cent.

The farm price increases in this country range from 5.1 per cent (beef, to go up to 7.5 per cent in December) to 7 per cent (pork, sheep meat and milk).

But since Brussels cannot fix the full range of farm prices, all agricultural products in this country will rise by 1.6 per cent, the cost of living index going up by 0.3 per cent. Farm incomes are to rise 4 per cent.

The agriculture market is no market at all. The introduction of the "producer co-responsibility" and the costly price guarantees by Brussels how that it exists only in the minds of the bureaucrats.

No farmer who produces under this market order bears any risk. This cannot continue in the long run.

For years, the EEC member nations have been able to draw from full coffers. They could fall back on the financially strong Germany.

But even this country has reached its financial limits.

Franz Thoma

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 May 1982)

New farm prices decided after tough talks

New farm prices have been decided after the longest and toughest round of bargaining since Common Agricultural Policy was dreamed up.

The average rise for the Federal Republic of Germany is about 7 per cent and 11 per cent for the rest of the Community. So farmers can relax.

"The Brussels decision is no more and no less than another bit of distribution policy. Higher price guarantees are to ease the lot of farmers in a time of dwindling incomes.

Naturally, the whole thing will have to be paid for by the consumer through his food bill.

This means that buying power to the tune of billions of deutschemarks will be skimmed off via the supermarkets and paid to the farmers.

It remains to be seen whether the calculations made by the European Consumer Association whereby each Community household will be saddled with an additional annual burden of DM300 is correct or not.

In any event, there is no getting away from the fact that only money the *consumer has spent can reach the seller.*

Still, the price increase for food will be nothing like that for tobacco, which will go up this month because of tax increases.

Farm price increases do not affect the consumer directly but indirectly through higher border levies and target and intervention prices.

Besides, the new prices for many products will not come into effect until some months from now. What will go up right away is milk, butter and other dairy products plus sugar, between 3 and 5 per cent more.

The most important staple, meat, will not go up markedly immediately because the price is already close to 10 per cent higher than last year so that the extra money paid to farmers will take some time to affect the consumer.

The same applies to bread and other grain-based foods. In this sector the 5 per cent increase as of 1 August is unlikely to be reflected in consumer prices until the autumn.

Similar conditions apply to fruit and vegetables where harvests have a major bearing on retail prices.

In the short term, the Bonn Agriculture Minister is probably right in his forecast of a 1.6 per cent increase in retail food prices. In the long term, however, the rise is more likely to reach the 3 per cent predicted by the Consumer Association.

Food retailers have made it clear that they will have to pass price increases on to the consumer since their profit margin now is only 0.5 per cent.

Disconcerting though this might be, the consumer can still save a great deal of money through comparative shopping.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 23 May 1982)

Agreement is a 'fair deal' despite veto

Constantin von Heereman ... 'end to paralysing uncertainty'. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Constantin von Heereman, president of the German Farmers' Association, has welcomed the latest farm price increases despite British opposition.

He told the guests at the opening of the 57th International Agriculture Show in Munich that the price decision had at last put an end to what he termed a "paralysing uncertainty."

He rebutted the critics of the decision, saying that the Community would destroy itself if it insisted on decisions by consensus. The EEC, he said, must not become a "self-service store for national interests."

The problems of the German farmers had grown to the point where they were a threat to their very existence so that the Brussels price decision did not exactly overwhelm them.

The guaranteed prices for the EEC's eight million farmers have been raised by an average of 10.4 per cent for products subject to the EEC agriculture system.

Agriculture Commissioner Poul Dalsager called the price decision that was reached despite a British veto after a delay of six weeks "a fair deal."

Due to the complicated conversion of farm prices from the artificial EEC money, the Ecu, into national currencies, German farmers will be getting 6.9 per cent more. This is based on an inflation rate which the Commission assumes to be 4 per cent.

In accordance with a French suggestion, small milk producers will receive a subsidy of DM289m. The German share will be DM84m.

The cost participation of the farmers for the storage and marketing of milk surpluses has been reduced from 2.5 to 2 per cent.

Dalsager welcomed the introduction by the Council of Agriculture Ministers of guarantee thresholds for milk, grain (119.5m tons), swedes (2.15m tons) and processed tomatoes (4.5m tons). He said this was an important step in checking surplus production.

Should the Community production in these sectors exceed the average of the past three harvests, guarantee prices will be lowered the following year.

For milk, this mechanism becomes operational when 1982 supplies exceed those of 1981 by 0.5 per cent.

ddp/dpa/vwd

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 May 1982)

■ GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Ties remain enmeshed in the political parties

Annemarie Renger, SPD, Deputy Speaker of the Bonn Bundestag, is interviewed by *Die Welt* on German-American relations in connection with President Reagan's forthcoming visit to Germany.

Die Welt: Only once before in over 30 years has the Bonn Bundestag invited a state visitor to address it. The speaker was President Nixon.

When President Reagan addresses the Bundestag will it be because Bonn is short of assembly rooms or because the House is keen to foster German-American understanding?

Frau Renger: In public the Bundestag is often relegated to a back-seat role. As a matter of principle I am all in favour of holding events at first hand in the House and allowing visiting heads of state and government to address the Bundestag.

In the Bundestag, close German-American friendship is an undisputed fact.

Die Welt: Do you feel German-American relations are as bad as they were recently described as by a group of Bundestag MPs who visited Washington?

Social Democrat Peter Männing referred to incredible ignorance and hostility encountered, although this criticism was toned down by the Christian Democrats' Count Stauffenberg.

Frau Renger: Herr Männing, who has since qualified his comments, is a strongly committed friend of the United States, which made him particularly sensitive to disappointments on certain points.

There is a German-American group of MPs in Bonn but no coresponding Congressional group. The Americans are keen on contacts but evidently do not want to institutionalise them.

An official Bundestag delegation was invited to Washington by Congress in 1973. I headed it. But that was an exception.

The Americans do not maintain official ties between parliaments, except in the case of the British and Canadian Parliaments.

Die Welt: Do you expect many Social and Free Democrats to take part in the anti-Reagan demonstration? Has your party made any recommendation to its members not to do so?

Frau Renger: Willy Brandt himself has advised Social Democrats not to take part. They can hardly be prohibited from doing so in a free country.

The Young Socialists have expressly declared that participation is not intended to signify hostility to either President Reagan or Nato.

It is merely intended to emphasise the need for disarmament in the world, which is not to say there is not a serious danger of misunderstanding.

I feel it would be better if Social Democrats who do take part in the demonstration were to make it clear that they are aware of the proposals made by President Reagan.

His proposals for a zero option on intermediate-range nuclear forces, for Start talks on intercontinental ballistic missiles and for a summit meeting with President Brezhnev are what I mean.

They are the most comprehensive disarmament proposals yet made and stand out in stark contrast from the meagre response made by Moscow.

Die Welt: What, in your view, must be done to consolidate ties with Bonn's major ally in the immediate future? What measures should be undertaken to ensure they are based on a firm groundwork of trust and confidence?

Frau Renger: I work on the assumption that the firm basis of trust and confidence is unshaken, although there are irritations.

Christian Democrat Kurt Biedenkopf, for instance, has rightly referred to irritation being due to arrogance on the part of Europe and ignorance on America's part.

Mutual prejudice of this kind, which can be encountered in public opinion on both sides, is potentially much more persistent than differences of opinion on specific political issues.

I am thinking of issues such as sanctions against Poland or the German contract to supply pipelines to Russia in return for supplies of Soviet natural gas.

These are both issues that are already growing less heated, while disagreement on high interest rate policies in the United States will decline soon enough.

That is why cultural encounters and exchange programmes are so important, and this is a point the Bundestag has certainly taken.

In October last year a hearing was held by the Bundestag foreign affairs committee's sub-committee on cultural diplomacy. It will, I hope, lead to joint



Annemarie Renger... unshaken trust and confidence. (Photo: Sven Simon)

motions being tabled to the House by all parliamentary parties this autumn.

The Munich conference of the Social Democratic Party approved a resolution on German-American relations that is well worth reading, especially by those who suspect the SPD of disloyalty to alliance commitments.

It called, for instance, for the establishment of a German-American exchange office for the younger generation.

Efforts are also under way to arrange for exchanges between staff of the Bundestag and staff of Representatives and Senators on Capitol Hill.

Die Welt: What, in your view, is to blame for the basic tenor of ties with the United States having so deteriorated in the Federal Republic of Germany in recent years?

Frau Renger: The Vietnam War and the Marxist views of the APO, or Extra-Parliamentary Opposition of the late 60s, were one factor. The APO took a d[…] view of the US social set-up.

In recent years environmentalists in particular have been opposed to industry and the consumer society, of which the American way of life is felt to be the epitome.

The spiritual mentors of both movements have, incidentally, often enough themselves been Americans.

I see no signs of anti-Americanism among the general public, although there is a cultural or intellectual anti-Americanism that accompanies a new nationalism and old views of a special German role, along neutralist lines, between East and West.

This trend is enhanced by a growing fear of war and the desire to quit political reality that has often recurred in German history.

I feel bound to repeat, however, that parliamentary elections in the Federal Republic of Germany give no cause for assuming that the basic tenor of ties has deteriorated in principle.

Elections have always given a resounding vote of support to the three major parties, all of which are decidedly pro-American in outlook and stated viewpoint.

Die Welt: How do you rate the view of transatlantic ties taken by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, which sees provincialism spreading in both Europe and the United States?

This provincialism is said to be a combination of nationalist and cultural prejudice of old and the emotional desire to tackle the future on one's own.

Frau Renger: It is a trend I too have noticed. My view, put slightly exaggeratedly to make the point, is that West German policy in the 50s was aimed as far as possible at allowing the concept of nation to be replaced by the supranational concept of Europe.

Now such unrealistic spontaneous hopes have been dashed there is a widespread go-it-alone and self-sufficient concentration on ourselves, on more immediate considerations and on a special German role between East and West.

That is why internationalism, inasmuch as it is still seriously promoted, seems so pallid and morally abstract.

But the other side of the Small is Beautiful coin is a lack of strength and perspective and a loss of connections. But politics is a succession of waves.

Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, is based on a wider view. It sees Germany as a nation with equal rights in a united Europe forming part of a peaceful international order that is larger still.

Evi Kei[…]

(Die Welt, 24 May 1982)

Chancellor Schmidt meets some of the younger generation

Mark Whitson, 17, is one of 15 young American apprentices in Germany on an exchange scheme who visited Helmut Schmidt at the Chancellor's Office in Bonn.

"I had heard that the Chancellor was not in top form at the moment," he said, "but I am impressed by both his power of judgment and his strenght."

The group are working as apprentices in Hamburg for three months at the invitation of the Kurt Körber Foundation.

It was an unaccustomed opportunity for the Chancellor to consolidate German-American friendship.

"After the obligatory photos had been taken Herr Schmidt was quick to come to the point. "First I'll ask questions, then you," he said.

He wanted to know what impression East Berlin had made on them. "Soldiers at every corner. It was all very military," one said, and the others nodded in agreement.

Then the Chancellor asked them about the training they were undergoing and how they felt about their instructors.

He then asked them whether they had heard anything about the Falklands crisis.

And how did they feel about it? It was a mistake. By whom? By both sides. The Chancellor agreed.

When it was all over, he said, the United States would be on the losing side. So would the British and the Argentinians. But the Russians would gain influence in South America.

"It is an example of how fast a military clash can occur even though no-one wants one," he said.

Soon the hour scheduled for the meeting was over. The next visitor was another American, Walter Stoessel, deputy to Mr Haig.

Mark was impressed by the Chancellor. "But he asked a few questions too many," he said as the group left the Cabinet room. "We hardly had a chance to get a question in."

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 7 May 1982)



Chancellor Schmidt and American exchange apprentices in Hamburg. (Photo: Sven Simon)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Call for action to halt the destruction of countryside

Three hundred acres of countryside a day are lost, about 170 square miles a year, delegates learnt at the Kassel nature conservation congress.

Housing and industrial development, including roads and facilities, plus drainage of marshland eat up an annual area roughly equal in size to Lake Constance.

Sandwiched between Germany, Austria and Switzerland, Lake Constance is 46 miles long and has a surface area of 555 square miles.

Man is not the only loser. Sixty-seven per cent of reptile species, 47 per cent of mammal species and 32 per cent of fish species either face extinction or have already passed the point of no return.

These were not very encouraging figures and the organisers of the congress, nature conservation associations and officials, did not sound an optimistic note.

The balance of nature conservation over the past 25 years has shown that serious improvements have not been accomplished.

Reinhard Sander, vice-president of the Nature Conservation Association, said enormous efforts had been made but success or progress achieved only in certain sectors, such as legislation.

On the ground, he said, it was another matter. In Hesse, the *Land* in which the congress was held, 0.6 per cent of the state's surface area was listed.

Yet if the variety of flora and fauna were to be maintained, at least ten per cent would have to be classified as nature reserves and protected from intensive cultivation or development.

What went on in the remaining 90 per cent was no less important, Professor Sander said. Farmers used toxins, pesticides and herbicides to a degree that played a large part in destroying the variety of species.

This was the point at which action must first be taken if ecological cycles were to be maintained.

Against this background what Wolfgang Erz of the Association of Nature Conservation Officials had to say sounded equally depressing.

Experience, he said, had shown that it took about 50 years for an idea to be put into action. Professor Erz advocated an idea that was nothing if not radical.

He wanted nature conservation regulations to apply to 100 per cent of the country's surface area:

"Nature conservation must be heeded everywhere, if need by even in the concrete yard of a factory, and if need be by requiring the concrete to be broken up and cleared away."

At least DM1bn to DM1.5bn is needed to implement nature conservation regulations already in force, and the current budget of roughly DM100m is hopelessly inadequate.

What is more, the manpower of nature conservation departments needs increasing three- to fivefold, depending on regional requirements.

There must be no more compromises, nature conservationists agreed. They called for effective environmental vetting of all public and private construction projects and a comprehensive reform of farm policies.

There must be an immediate end to crop spraying regardless whether pesticides were needed, more effective backing for ecological farming, a network of protected areas established, and so on.

Conservationists hope to convince political decision-makers of the urgent need for comprehensive measures, but they are not unduly confident.

The general public, Professor Sander said, had reconsidered the whole subject and were prepared to accept much more far-reaching proposals than most politicians were.

Eight Bundestag MPs who had said they would attend the Kassel congress withdrew at the last minute to attend the Munich agricultural show instead.

That, conservationists felt, was typical of the importance politicians attached to conservation.

But not all politicians were welcome in Kassel. Jörg Jordan, state secretary at the Hesse Environmental Affairs Ministry in Wiesbaden, was originally invited as a speaker but his invitation was withdrawn on the insistence of futurologist Robert Jungk of the Nature Conservation Association.

The few politicians who did attend did so with varying degrees of success. The most prominent politician in Kassel was Holger Börner, the Hesse Prime Minister, who had great difficulty in holding his speech.

Opponents of the new runway at Frankfurt airport evidently felt his appearance was a provocation and interrupted his speech with whistles of disapproval and chanted slogans.

Professor Sander was critical of the demonstrators' behaviour but fully appreciated how they must have felt about Herr Börner after the many provocative comments he had made.

He realised it was like showing a red flag to a bull to ask the man conservationists and runway opponents rated their most dangerous adversary to say a few words of welcome to the congress.

Yet despite political disputes the organisers were generally satisfied with what was achieved. It included a nature conservation and environmental protection exhibition visited by about 6,000 people.

Professor Jungk, the main speaker at the final gathering, was billed as aiming to "morally rearm" the movement, but the masses were not there to hear him. Only about 150 people turned up.

They youth movement of the Nature Conservation Association had about 700 members in Kassel for the congress. If they had attended the final gathering the venue, Friedrichplatz, would have been full.

But they chose not to do so. They were upset that the adults had not shown enough interest in their activities.

A resolution was read to the gathering to the effect that the youth movement would no longer be holding events jointly with the parent body.

Anne Riedel

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 May 1982)

Lack of cash 'no excuse' for not taking protective steps

Environmental protection, says Günter Verheugen, general secretary of the Free Democrats, ought to be included in the Constitution.

In a radio programme he reiterated *an earlier call for the right to an environment* in the best possible condition to be incorporated in the Constitution as an aim governments must seek to achieve.

The Nairobi UN conference on environment affairs had shown, he said, that environmental conditions had dramatically deteriorated all over the world.

Clean air and water regulations, noise abatement and soil protection provisions must be improved. The general economic outlook must not serve as a pretext for neglecting environmental protection.

Consideration for the environment must be as much an economic policy objective as stable prices and full employment.

Rudolf Sperner, general secretary of the construction workers' union, has criticised the ecological movement in strong terms. At a Dortmund union conference he said environmentalists had made such headway that bribery was often needed to get the go-ahead for construction projects.

Forestry interests have called for immediate action to counteract acidification of woodland and forest soils, which was to blame for an increasing number of trees dying.

In a press release issued jointly with Göttingen University soil research department they call for large-scale counter-measures in forests deemed to be in danger.

They also demand a reduction in sulphur dioxide emission by coal- and oil-fired power stations, which are largely to blame for acidification, it is felt.

Facts available leave no doubt that immediate action is called for. The press release suggests a levy on electricity bills to pay for the measures needed.

An international conference on measures to improve the environmental quality of the Elbe is in preparation, says Peter Menke-Glückert of the Bonn Interior Ministry.

He made the announcement at an FDP environmental conference in Hamburg.

It would be another two or three years before the preliminaries were completed, he said. The conference would be attended by representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany, the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

ddp

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 May 1982)

Entire balance of nature under threat

Unless action is taken soon to stop trees from dying all over the world the ecological balance will suffer irreparable harm, scientists have been told at an international congress in Göttingen.

About 100 scientists from various disciplines dealt, at a three-day workshop held by the Environmental Protection Agency, Berlin, and Göttingen University, on the eco-system of woods and forests.

At a final press conference they voiced dismay that politicians neither at home nor abroad had taken effective action to counteract the trend.

A Munich forest botanist, Professor Peter Schütt, said it was not just high time action was taken; it was almost too late.

Over the past two years woodland had been hit so hard by heavy metal deposits, acid rainfall and other atmospheric pollution, and pollution had increased so dramatically, that nature could no longer restore the balance.

Professor Bernhard Ulrich of Göttingen, the conference chairman, said about 80 per cent of old pine trees in Lower Saxony now showed signs of damage. In the long term there was also a risk of the water cycle being affected.

The proposed Bonn regulations on garbage incinerators and power stations were felt by the scientists to be a step in the right direction. New units would in future need to be fitted out with clean air facilities.

But the was assuming the regulations were enacted and came into force this year. Besides, Professor Ulrich said, they ought to be extended to apply to existing incinerators and power stations.

Regulations of this kind would need to be pushed through in the face of stiff opposition from industry. They would also be extremely expensive. But further damage to the environment would prove even costlier.

Heinz-Detlef Gregor, scientific director at the Environmental Protection Agency, mentioned this economic aspect of the problem too.

The death of woods and forests cannot be combated solely at national level, it was agreed. Atmospheric pollution is no respecter of frontiers.

Consideration is being given to the problem in the European Community, but "we no longer have time to think it over; we must act as soon as possible," as Professor Schütt put it.

Prompt action could not be expected to yield immediate results either. The damage that was now apparent was the result of decades of pollution; it would be decades before counter-measures showed effect.

"The clock that is ticking in the trees," said Professor Ulrich, "is not going to stop ticking all that easily."

Scientists are particularly upset at being unable to determine what kinds of pollution are to blame for the demise of trees.

Sulphur dioxide emitted by coal- and oil-fired power stations and precipitated in the form of acid rainfall, especially in the Mittelgebirge range, is certainly to blame.

So are deposits of heavy metal, but there are sure to be other culprits. Professor Schütt even referred to a stress factor.

Years of exposure to chemicals in the environment could weaken trees to such an extent, he said, that they suddenly buckled under when subjected to strain that would not normally give trees much trouble.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 May 1982)

■ TRANSPORT

Second thoughts about the disappearing tram

Since the early 50s the days of the tram, or streetcar, seem to have been numbered. Eighty cities in the Federal Republic of Germany used to run tram services; by last year only 32 did.

A survey by the press agency *DPA* now reveals that a number of local authorities have reconsidered and are thinking of extending networks.

They have felt encouraged to do so by environmental considerations and for reasons of town planning.

Trams were replaced by buses, while many large cities have drawn up ambitious plans for underground, or subway, travel by U- or S-Bahn.

In city centres public transport has been redirected underground at phenomenal cost, while the number of cars on the road has increased by leaps and bounds.

Priority was given to the motor-car and individual, or private transport. Planners looked on the tram as an anachronism in cities designed with the motor-car in mind. It was slow, got in the way and was uneconomic.

Trams were scrapped in cities such as Berlin, Hamburg and Saarbrücken and in smaller towns such as Düren, Koblenz, Pforzheim and Reutlingen.

In Munich and Frankfurt they are still in use, but underground rail transport has automatically, as they say, reduced the workload of the tram.

By 1986 the tram, admirable though it may be from the environmental viewpoint, is to be banned from Frankfurt's city centre.

In Kiel too there will be only one tram service left by 1985, and it is scheduled to go the way of the rest, while in the Ruhr most tram routes have been converted to buses.

But the Ruhr is different in that it is busy extending the routes served by S-Bahn, which is usually a suburban electric railway run by the Bundesbahn but there is a kind of tram that occasionally runs underground.

Going underground more than doubles the speed at which public transport travels, but it has come in for criticism because the change-over is expensive and stations are too far apart.

In Frankfurt, where 14 S-Bahn lines are to criss-cross the city by 1988, each new kilometre of S-Bahn tunnel now costs DM133m. The cost at ground level would be DM6m to DM8m per kilometre, not to mention lower running costs.

Construction and running costs have increased so alarmingly that town planners have taken to reconsidering the humble tram most seriously.

In several cities plans to scrap existing routes have been shelved and new routes are to be laid on and rolling stock to be modernised.

One reason why is that trams are usually just around the corner, don't make much noise and, modern cars at least, don't stop and start so abruptly. They are both comfortable and convenient.

What is more, on busy routes they can handle many more passengers than buses and, unlike years ago, they can convert braking energy back into power to be reused.

Cities that have no intention of scrapping their new-look tram network include Bielefeld, Karlsruhe and Freiburg. In Bielefeld six tram routes carry more passengers round a 60km network than 29 bus routes do.

In Darmstadt, where next year trams are to be given priority on the road by computerised traffic control systems, 24.6m passengers, or two thirds of the local public transport total, used the tram last year.

New routes are planned. So are new and larger cars.

Cologne likewise plans to expand. In the city centre the tram is to be sent underground, but new routes are to be laid on in the suburbs. Buses are to be reduced in number.

Trams are to be retained and services extended in Augsburg too. Funds are tight but about DM20m is to be spent on new rolling stock over the next three or four years and nearly twice as much on renovation of the tracks.

Roughly a century after the first electric trams began to rattle round Berlin the decline of the streetcar seems to have been brought to a halt.

Towns that have not been served by trams in the past are most unlikely ever to have them, but those that still have them count themselves lucky and are not going to scrap such a comfortable and environmentally unobjectionable mode of transport.

Last year there were protests in Düsseldorf, with thousands signing a petition, when the first section of Underground was opened.

What people went on the streets to demand was a new tram service to run at ground level along the same route as the U-Bahn. They specifically insisted that they didn't want a bus service instead.

dpa

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 20 May 1982)

Getting it back on the rails

The Bundesbahn needs a clear mandate from the government and a sound financial basis from which to solve its structural problems, say its new managing director, Reiner Gohlke.

Herr Gohlke, a former IBM executive hired by Bonn Transport Minister Volker Hauff to help get the railways out of the red, made these points on taking over in Frankfurt.

He succeeded Wolfgang Vaerst, who spent 10 years at the top with the German Federal Railways.

Herr Gohlke stressed in his first speech as Bundesbahn chief executive that the amendment to the Bundesbahn Act last January, an amendment that was needed to enable to take over the post, was no more than a first step.

He was particularly keen on people who use rail services paying for them, which was a clear reference in the context to local transport and the local authorities that pay nothing toward its upkeep.

"Political and financial responsibility for the communal task of providing local transport must," he said, "be regionalised in order to ensure that economically sensible and ideal solutions can be reached in keeping with regional needs."

What he meant was that where the railways ran extensive local transport services at a heavy loss, local and regional authorities should pay more toward their upkeep.

To make the Bundesbahn less dependent on cash in the Bonn government's kitty he proposed an Investment Safeguards Act to bankroll investments in the future.

This was not to say that the Bundesbahn's limited resources should not continue to be invested partly in the communal sector. But there would have to be clear financial arrangements made.

The new Bundesbahn management would first be concentrating on what was feasible, especially the following points:

- Services provided must be more in keeping with market requirements.
- Staff overheads are to be reduced by means of a twofold strategy of boosting turnover and cutting costs.
- The problem of rush-hour traffic must also be solved.

No company is well advised, he said, to keep cash and manpower in hand to cover each and every eventuality, certainly not in the long term.

He said he was strongly in favour of division of labour. He was keen to go ahead with the development of information and control systems.

He envisaged more intensive utilisation of the possibility of collaborating with other operators, saw prospects of qualitative improvement in rail transport and planned substantial reinforcements on the sales side.

His first moves were made only hours after taking over at Bundesbahn head office in Frankfurt when he gave several management officials new jobs and a fresh status.

Hans-Joachim König, previously senior sales manager in Mainz, was given special responsibility for passenger traffic and Werner Remmert, his deputy, was given responsibility for goods traffic.

Both agreed to forgo civil servant status and to accept commercial management contracts with the railways, which remain a public corporation.

Transport Minister Hauff reiterated some of his past criticism of the outgoing management, calling for instance for modernisation of the railways to be pursued with top priority.

Computerised integrated transport system on which little or no headway had been made in years, was to be taken into service as soon as possible.

The Bundesbahn ought also to cut a more active figure in the transport market. Customers did not come of their own accord, he said. The railways had to go to the customer.

Herr Hauff assured the new management he would do all he could to widen their leeway. The board must be allowed greater independence in keeping with its responsibility.

The new Bundesbahn board is a six-man body consisting of Herr Gohlke and directors responsible for staff, finance, legal affairs, production, technology, planning and control.

A seventh board member, with responsibility for sales, is shortly to be appointed.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 May 1982)

■ WRITERS

Excellence, integrity, mark the Herzfeld influence



Hans Herzfeld ... tolerance, warmth, sensitivity. (Photo: dpa)

Berlin historian Professor Hans Herzfeld died on 13 May, aged almost 90.

The story of his own life was closely and frequently painfully linked with contemporary German history. So it is not surprising that his work as a historian was dominated by the analysis of the major streams of contemporary history.

He was born in the university city of Halle, now in the GDR, that was still steeped in the spirit of German classical writers and thinkers.

He personally experienced the problems of an era of major social and political change.

Halle was not only the centre of a radical labour movement but also had a long tradition of Lutheranism, Pietism, Enlightenment, Romanticism and the cultural values of the bourgeoisie.

After three years as a French prisoner of war, Herzfeld returned to Halle in 1920 and in 1923 was given a lectureship at the university.

His early works deal with Franco-German relations after 1871, Germany's armaments policy before 1914 and the Social Democratic movement during World War I.

He was appointed a professor in 1923. It was after that time that he published not only many essays on 19th and 20th century German and European history but also a two-volume biography of Johannes von Miquel.

Using this representative personality of the era as an example, he depicted the basic problems of German history from the founding of the Reich to the turn of the century.

As soon as Hitler came to power in 1933, Herzfeld's academic career became an obstacle course, and in 1938 he was stripped of his teaching authority and the title of professor as a quarter-Jew.

Charged with "defeatism" he spent several months in a Gestapo prison in 1943.

It was not until after World War II, in 1946, that he was given the chair of West European History at Freiburg University.

The climax of his academic career was when he received the chair of Modern History at Berlin's newly founded Free University (1950).

Like few other historians of his generation, Professor Herzfeld transcended national states in his concept of history.

This became particularly obvious in his two-volume handbook *Die moderne Welt 1789-1945* (The Modern World 1789-1945). This was the first work by a German historian to treat world history from the American and French Revolutions in the late 18th century to the end of World War II as a uniform block.

His important book *Berlin in der Weltpolitik 1945-1970* (Berlin in World Affairs 1945-1970) which was published in 1973 in masterly fashion describes the meshing of the development of Berlin and German and world politics. The book was written as a tribute to the city that had become his home.

Herzfeld was an unusually stimulating university teacher whose personality was marked by tolerance, warmth and sensitivity.

He guided more than 70 students in their doctoral dissertations and 10 in their professioral theses during his 10-year tenure in Berlin alone; and many of today's history teachers at German universities clearly bear his stamp.

He is one of Germany's most important organisers of science in the post-war era and played a major part in the development of Berlin's Free University and the city's teaching and research institutions for political science.

Herzfeld was instrumental in international textbook reforms and was one of the major personalities promoting the work of the *Historische Kommission zu Berlin* (Berlin Historical Commission) which, under his chairmanship from 1959 to 1978, became one of Germany's leading history research institutes.

Hans Herzfeld was also decisive in promoting post-1945 contacts between German historians and their opposite

Continued on page 12

Ernst Jünger: a recognition for perception

Ernst Jünger has been awarded this year's Goethe Prize of Frankfurt. So the city where Goethe was born has paid tribute to a German writer "whose works are equally marked by commitment and intellectual detachment and who, despite his passionate involvement, has always maintained his independence of perception."

Jünger, 87, became famous through his book *In Stahlgewittern* (The Storm of Steel) in which he described his experience in World War I.

A later book, *Der Arbeiter* (The Worker), was interpreted, especially abroad, as having paved the way for National Socialism.

In the late 1930s, he wrote *Auf den Marmorklippen* (On the Marble Cliffs) in which he rejected the Third Reich, though in a deceptive way.



Ernst Jünger ... intellectual detachment. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Ernst Jünger's last published work is the diary collection, *70 verweht.*

dpa

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 May 1982)

■ DIPLOMACY

Luck as well as performance come into book trade prize

George F. Kennan ... political realist. (Photo: Interpress)

'He devoted decades to preventing the petrification of ideas. Whenever official policy showed signs of becoming untouchable, he shook it up by pointing to alternatives.'

American diplomat George F. Kennan has won this year's German book trade peace prize.

As has happened in some other years, it seems that personal quality is not the only yardstick of worth. Luck comes into it.

There have been people who throughout their lives have done a yeoman's job promoting German-Jewish or Franco-German ties or they might have devoted decades to the plight of the Third World — yet they stand little chance of getting the prize until their particular field of endeavour is put on the agenda.

But this is probably no more than normal in a world in which ever more problems have to coexist and in which the simultaneousness of the non-simultaneous has become a principle of life.

This time it was George F. Kennan who was favoured.

"One of the best and most contrary brains in American diplomacy," is how Klaus Mehnert described the political thinker and publicist, US ambassador to Moscow, planning chief at the State Department and Princeton professor.

Considerations of day-to-day affairs thus seem to have played a role in the choice of this year's prize winner. Why else should a man of 78, who has been engaged in more or less the same work since adulthood, be considered worthy of the honour only after his most productive era is over?

Two things coincided to bring this about: the wise decision of the prize panel to do something to promote the flagging German-American dialogue and the fact that Kennan is both a highly regarded American foreign affairs expert and an opponent of Reagan's arms build-up policy (as he recently demonstrated together with three other prominent Americans).

But even this move is more faithful to his own than to American tradition. It also does justice to his reputation of contrariness.

Kennan has always been both an insider and an outsider, a man of the political system and yet detached from it.

While, as ambassador to Moscow and Washington man, still believing in his one world concept he nevertheless warned against equating American and Soviet ideas.

While head of planning at the State Department he used his famous "Mr X" articles in *Foreign Affairs* in 1947 to advocate a sensible economic policy instead of the containment of Soviet power.

And when the Cold War engulfed Europe and America in the 1950s he was in the vanguard of those who advocated a disengagement of the blocs as a means of securing the peace.

Now, he warns of a new militarisation of America's foreign policy.

Kennan's major theme over the past decades has been US-Soviet relations. He has lived and thought in anti-cyclical terms. And nothing was further from him than a tendency to adopt predigested ideas.

This is why his direct political influence diminished after the 1950s. After all, nobody wanted a government official who would destroy thought patterns of which policy makers had grown fond.

But exactly this is where his merit lies. It is this also that justifies the prize even disregarding practical considerations. He devoted decades to preventing the petrification of ideas.

Whenever official policy showed signs of becoming untouchable, he shook it up by pointing to alternatives.

Kennan is considered one of the realists of American politics. This means that he regards power as a reality — though not necessarily an evil one.

He has tried throughout his life to make politics open to reason.

So we can well afford to overlook the bit of opportunism that went into giving him the prize.

Paul Noack

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 23 May 1982)

■ LITERATURE

Counterfeiters, killers, rapists: new improved image for translators

Translators these days, from whichever of the better-known European languages they may translate, must wonder at times whether they are still really needed.

Readers are usually people who can afford to travel to the country in question. It seems reasonable to assume that tourism will make them better at the language and keener to read in the original the literature of the countries visited.

Much to the advantage of career translators, this appears not to be the case. Even from British and American English, the most widespread international language today, fiction and nonfiction continue to be translated into German apace.

Whether this labour is worth the effort is another matter. Much of what might be termed world literature goes untranslated or is available only in inadequate translations, and often stays that way.

Other work that appears in translation at almost the same time as the original and creates a sensation is felt before long to have been dispensable, short-lived and merely fashionable.

An exhibition on world literature in translation at the Marbach Archives tells the tale, much the same in many ways and intriguingly different in others, of translation in the classical period of German literature, the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

In the late 18th century interest in reading foreign literature in German increased spectacularly, even though means and ways of communication were so much more cumbersome than they are today.

Books often appeared in translation a mere six months after original publication. There were often fads and fly-by-nights. Then as now, linguists and writers were often at odds over the quality of translation.

Literary exchange increased as people, or rather the reading public, did more travelling. It was consolidated by magazines and the fashion for books written as exchanges of letters.

The bourgeois awareness of the arts and the self-confidence of the middle class fostered a growing interest in what was distant and foreign.

The entire process later congealed into the educational stock-in-trade of the later bourgeoisie. This and many other points are made at Marbach.

"It is not a large exhibition physically, being short and to the point, but 15 double glass showcases and a glazed bourgeois bookcase of about 1860 feature over 500 exhibits.

They are books for the most part, including well printed and illustrated first editions, letters, portraits, theatrical scenes and landscapes.

They go to make up an outstanding cross-section of the work of German translators and a tribute to literary reception from about 1750 to 1850.

The catalogue is nearly 700 pages long, systematically arranged and contains quotations and concise commentaries. Over and above its immediate purpose it is an invaluable handbook and a treasure trove to stimulate the imagination.

Delight in Translation in Goethe's Century is the sub-title of the exhibition. In a perceptive and witty introduction Reinhard Tgahrt notes that delight must also be said to include its opposite.

Wieland, for instance, found it hard work translating Shakespeare into German, while enterprising or lax translators came in for a barrage of criticism.

They were called counterfeiters, killers and rapists for trying, say, to render Homer's Ancient Greek hexameters in German prose.

Criticism was even more trenchant when Hölderlin sought to reconcile Greek and German, the alien and the known, in his adaptation of Sophocles' *Antigone*.

"Penetrating to the religious basis of the tragedy," he rewrote it "as a work of his own poetic inspiration," and was widely criticised for so doing.

The range of translation, from philological elbow-grease to poetic freedom, can be traced in exemplary manner in connection with Latin and Greek literature.

The part played by distance in time and cultural detachment, as it were, can also be clearly seen at the Marbach exhibition.

A look at the shelves clearly shows which language and, in the century under review more so than today, which culture and national history were first brought to the attention of a domestic public.

Latin, the language of the educated classes from the Middle Ages until after the Renaissance, can be seen to be replaced by French.

French to begin with is the medium via which German readers are acquainted with literature in other languages, apart, that is, from the works of German classics.

Then, with the advent of the bourgeois realist novel, to which fine editions of Samuel Richardson testify, English comes to the fore.

Italy, the country most visited by Germans since the 16th century, suddenly at the end of the 18th century assumes literary interest.

Geographically and culturally eccentric, Spain, associated by educated Central Europeans in the bourgeois era with the Inquisition and with Jewish and Arab influence, suddenly appears in a brighter light.

This was the work of Herder and Lessing, each in his own way.

Then the Orient came into its own, brought to light by scholars and connoisseurs such as Hammer-Purgstall and by poets from Goethe to Rückert and Platen.

The East was acknowledged as the source of light, as a long-buried treasure trove and inexhaustible repository of finds.

Nor must we forget the preoccupation, first of Herder, then, even more markedly, of the Romantic movement, with Germany's past, such as the Middle High German minnesong of the Swabian era, folk sagas and poetry.

The role of the stage in popularising world literature is outlined in detail. It was its first intermediary and remained one of its most effective lines of communication.

At the hub of all this activity, and not just as a gesture to his sesquicentenary, there is Goethe as the man of ideas and mediator whose interest extended to all points of the compass and yielded so much.

Goethe found foreign literature an invaluable source of inspiration for his own work, such as *Iphigenie, Tasso* and *West-Östlicher Diwan*. He also did much to bring it to more general attention.

He remained remarkably interested to a ripe old age in contemporary literary trends abroad.

He was impressed by Byron from the moment he came across his work and by sending him a greeting on his way to Greece almost followed him to his death.

He greatly regretted being prevented by age from translating Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi* from the Italian.

Despite occasional gloomy forecasts for the future Goethe was convinced world literature would come into being. He explained why in his preface to Carlyle's *Life of Schiller*.

All countries, he wrote, were shaken by the most dreadful wars and then reverted to their own resources. They noticed that they had come into contact with a number of foreign influences that had given rise to previously unknown intellectual needs.

Instead of being sealed off and self-contained as beforehand, they now increasingly felt the need for more or less free trade in ideas.

His younger contemporary Friedrich Schlegel felt world literature was a progressive process leading to ever greater unity.

Goethe felt that true general tolerance would be most safely accomplished if the special characteristics of individual people and nations were accepted for what they were.

One could but wish every translator of any quality, and their publishers would make a note of what Goethe wrote to Carlyle in 1827:

"For whatever one may say of the inadequacy of translation, it is and will continue to be one of the most important and distinguished activities there is in the world at large."

Kyra Stromberg
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 May 1982)

Continued from page 11

numbers in the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Canada and Poland and thus countering the danger of provincialism.

The high regard that German historians enjoy today (they have been asked to organise the next World Congress of Historians) is to a large extent due to the work of people like Hans Herzfeld whose moral integrity, scholarly performance and open-mindedness earned him an international reputation after 1945.

Gerhard A. Ritter
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19 May 1982)

East German novelist spending a year in the West

East German novelist Christa Wolf is spending a year at Frankfurt University in the West. She holds a visiting professorship of poetics.

Her lectures are extremely popular. You have to be there half an hour early to be sure of a seat, although poetics would not normally be expected to have mass appeal.

Cassandra — Prerequisites of a Story is the title of her Tuesday lecture. It is a modest title, since what she has to say is about writing as a whole, especially women's writing.

She seriously, unassumingly picks her way through the students seated on the floor. She speaks clearly and to the point. And she leaves no doubt that she is deeply disquieted by her subject.

Maybe she would have found it easier to lecture on it 20 years ago. In 1963 she published her first major work, *Der geteilte Himmel* (The Divided Sky), the first literary treatment of divided Germany after the Wall by an East German writer.

She was unswervingly on the side of her heroine, Rita Seidel, who decided for the GDR and against the West, for which her lover, Manfred Herrfurth, a chemist, opted as a refugee.

She was a gifted writer and a committed Communist, and she went on to become a candidate member of the SED Central Committee.

But she is no longer so sure. Her hopes of a new era, a new kind of person and a new society were too serious for her to have been able to accept the reality of socialism as actually practised.

She was born in Landsberg, now Poland, in 1929 and spent her childhood in Nazi Germany. She was later unable to come to terms with the new normality of life in the GDR.

Instead, she wrote *Nachdenken über Christa T.* (Thoughts about Christa T.), the tale of a woman who had died, having failed to come to terms with reality.

These were thoughts about an unusual woman in conventional socialist society. It was in this novel that she found a style of expression of her own. It was the first time she gave it her all.

Nachdenken über Christa T. has long been accepted as an example of German writing in the 60s that would stand the test of time.

It was the work not of a dissident but of a socialist who was worried about the way socialism was developing, and that remains her position to this day.

Christa Wolf is not concerned with tormentingly sticking to the past or dealing with childhood patterns: she wonders whether Hitler, who wanted to see Europe go to its doom if he was unable to control it, might not have the last laugh.

She certainly does not expect salvation to come from the ordinary, the everyday. Times have not changed since Cassandra's day.

Cassandra was a soothsayer no-one wanted to believe. She upset the men, the powerful sex, and eventually fell foul of her own powers of prophecy.

Times may not have changed since, but we are now in the home straight. Could Cassandra possibly be given a hearing now, in view of what the results have been?

Hellmut Seemann
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 23 May 1982)

■ MEDICINE

New data processing centre saves cash but but raises question of protection

Despite spiralling health costs, Dortmund's *Allgemeine Ortskrankenkasse* (AOK), the social security system health insurance, this spring reduced its premiums from 15 to 14 per cent of salary.

This is because a highly sophisticated electronic data processing system has been installed.

The project is backed by the Bonn Research and Labour Ministries and was boosted by a DM1.9m subsidy.

The main purpose is to reduce health system costs. What would have been impossible under the old card index system can now be done within seconds.

The advantages are obvious: doctors who prescribe expensive drugs when cheaper drugs would achieve the same results can be sent warning letters.

Patients who often change doctors are told by the AOK to stick with their family doctor.

The AOK can also weed out "legal addicts". All the computer has to do is to analyse how often patients are issued prescriptions by one or several doctors for drugs that can lead to addiction.

The trouble is that most of the information laid bare is private.

Little fuss has so far been made about the abuse of personal data in the health and social security sectors. Yet nowhere else are the data banks so brim full of personal and private information.

The computers of the social security health and pensions funds now have data banks on the total population: 75 million sets (with a maximum of three per person) at the data bank of the German Pensions Fund (DSRV) in Würzburg alone.

Politicians consider this data particularly worthy of protection from abuse and from being passed on to unauthorised persons.

As a result, there are legal protective provisions that go beyond the general legislation against data abuse. Section 35 of the Social Affairs Code, for instance, is intended to safeguard "social secrecy".

But Section 68 waters this down by providing government authorities with access to this data and Section 72 provides for compulsory release of personal data "for the protection of internal and external security."

The police are of course particularly interested in this personal data since this is the most up-to-date information on citizens who are insured under the social security system.

Agencies for protection against data abuse have for some time been chary of the state's appetite for data, usually under the guise of cost reduction and in the name of research.

And while on the subject of research, Professor Fritz Linder, president of the German Cancer Society, at the Munich Cancer Congress in March urged the introduction of a national cancer register.

A draft of the relevant provisions was presented to the Bonn Health Ministry. This would have enabled doctors to forward their patients' personal data to the register even against the patient's will.

Protests by the state and federal commissioners for protection against data abuse later led to the shelving of the project.

Federal Data Commissioner Professor Hans-Peter Bull is certain that research does not need such all-encompassing information.

"Researchers will in any event review only a limited number of case histories. And the number of histories they actually need they can get from patients who are prepared to volunteer this information for the sake of science," he says.

North Rhine-Westphalia's data commissioner recently came across a telling example of the manner in which the term "voluntary" is interpreted.

When reviewing the after-care records of one cancer society, which has the backing of the state Labour and Health Ministries, he found that doctors didn't ask patients: they simply said that patients were prepared to disclose data.

Though politicians are prepared to take the special significance of health data into account and come up with the necessary legal provisions for protection against abuse, nobody has yet considered it necessary to reduce the amount of data stored to absolute essentials. On the contrary.

The Bonn Labour Ministry has come up with a plan that would enable national health insurers to file 200 or more facts per person.

But the Ministry has been conspicuously reticent in providing the federal data commissioner with information on this plan.

Professor Bull: "I received the draft from at least five different organisations that were alarmed by the move ... but not from the Labour Ministry."

Incidentally, the health insurers themselves have opposed the plan because of the cost it would entail. They would have to review masses of old data and feed the computers with new material.

Commissioner Bull considers the plan questionable in both legal and political terms because it would make citizens an open book in all matters concerning their health.

Bull: "What is at work here is a frightening bit of technocracy."

He fears that the amount of data that would be collected under this plan would be greater than in any other system and, what's worse, would be available almost for the asking.

The pension funds already collect huge stores of data concerning each patient in connection with their "social reports" on the treatment of drug addicts.

The information gathered goes far beyond health matters. It includes data on family background, friends, social environment and the "history of the addiction". In this case the person concerned has to sign the report.

The implications are far-reaching because, should the police or the public prosecutor lay hands on the report, it would would be tantamount to the admission of a crime such as drug-taking or pushing.

Protecting personal data from abuse or being passed on to others is not enough. The example provided by AOK in Dortmund which legally stores and analyses the data of its insured reveals a new danger: in the bid for healthier living confidence that should mark the relationship between doctor and patient can be destroyed.

Christine Becker
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 23 May 1982)

The Homburg model comes to the aid of research

The early diagnosis and prevention of civilisation and geriatric disorders is still in its infancy.

Three doctors of the Saarland University Medical School in Homburg have now made a bid to change this by announcing the establishment of this country's first Institute for Preventive Medicine.

Strictly speaking, however, the Institute is intended as an umbrella organisation for already existing research organisations.

Its aim is to evolve models that will eventually cover large sectors of preventive medicine.

Initial emphasis will be on cardiovascular disorders, lung diseases, the early diagnosis of cancer and systematic check-ups for pregnant women over 35 who are particularly in danger of giving birth to disabled children.

The relevant research projects in the fields of cardiology, pneumology and genetics have already been drafted and will be carried out as soon as the necessary funds are forthcoming.

The initiators of the new institute, Professors Bette, Trendelenburg and Zang, have told the press that they were prompted by the fact that most patients see their doctors too late and that had they done so earlier their disorders would have been cured quite easily.

The Homburg doctors want to establish, among other things, whether there is any connection between a person's genetic material and his susceptibility to cancer. If necessary, they intend to develop a standardised laboratory procedure that would permit cheap and fast mass check-ups.

The complicated and labour-intensive check-up of pregnant older women is to be improved to the point where it can become readily available to all who want it. This is not possible now. Genetic institutes in Germany are overworked.

Heart rhythm disorders, another focal point of the Institute's research, are to be diagnosed at an early stage with the help of apparatus still to be developed.

All this will cost a great deal of money, but the three doctors are confident it can be raised.

A group of backers has already been formed and is rallying further support.

Health insurers have also become interested in the Homburg model as has the pharmaceuticals industry although the Institute will not engage in commissioned research.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 May 1982)

■ ETHICS

Scientists warned of their social responsibilities

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has urged scientists not to forget social responsibility for their actions.

In an address to the Max Planck Society in Bonn Schmidt stressed that science was not only a quest for truth but that it was also a search for insights responsible to society.

In view of developments in nuclear technology, he said, the responsibility that rests on science is overwhelming.

Far-reaching and still not fully known consequences also emanate from the field of microelectronics.

The flooding of the public with electronically conveyed information could well lead to a decline of the nation's desire to read, the Chancellor said.

Large sections of the public tend to opt for the easy consumption of television rather than reading. The reading that still remains is largely restricted to the thumbing of the popular press.

Schmidt blamed this development equally on politicians and scientists, saying that neither could pass the buck to the other.

He urged researchers to become aware of the overall consequences of their actions despite specialisation.

The scientists themselves are anything but happy with the current state incursion into research, the president of the Max Planck Society, Professor Reimar Lüst, told the meeting.

Research, he said, was increasingly caught between the wheels of differing views of Bonn and the individual states.

He said that the promotion of research would be placed in serious jeopardy if the Bundestag continued to use its veto rights as readily as it did recently when over-ruling the financing compromise of the Joint Federal and States Commission.

He pointed to severe conflicts between political declarations and the attendant actions.

Professor Lüst opposed attempts to apply administrative regulations to research institutions and urged politicians to show more faith in public sector subsidies for research.

Especially in times of tight budgets, he said, it is important to create an atmosphere conducive to research.

The Chancellor replied to this saying that anybody who receives financial support from others must accept the terms and conditions that go with it.

The Max Planck Society for the Promotion of Science maintains 54 institutes and research organisations concerned with basic research in the sciences and the humanities.

Wolfgang Koch
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 May 1982)

■ EDUCATION

Graduates queue for the jobs that aren't there

When he finally does go to sleep, Wilfried Hauser, 28, dreams of job applications and personnel department questionnaires. Six months ago, he graduated as a physicist, with excellent marks.

It was on Christmas Eve, two weeks after his last examination, that he typed his first job application on an ancient, borrowed typewriter.

"At that time, I was firmly convinced that I would have a job in two or three months. I realised, of course, that getting a job is more difficult today than it used to be, but I was still sure that anybody who wanted work could find it," says Hauser.

But the days when heads of personnel departments at major industrial companies hung around technical university campuses, waiting to sign on graduates, are long gone.

Hauser has so far written 70 applications to industrial companies and research institutes.

For every vacancy for a physicist at the Federal Environment Authority in Berlin, for example, there are more than 100 applicants.

One firm, Kabelmetall in Hanover, that advertised for a heating systems expert received 80 applications.

A research job offered by one of the institutes of Bayreuth University for a cryogenics physicist brought 45 applications.

Last year, BASF had 800 applications on spec from science graduates. Only 80 were taken on.

AEG-Telefunken, with its payroll of 116,000 Germany's tenth largest employer, received 300 applications from jobless physicists, mathematicians and chemists plus 2,000 from engineers in 1981. Only 30 scientists got jobs and 1,400 engineers were rejected.

Heiko Christians of the personnel department says there has been a further dramatic rise in the number of applications since January.

New graduates like Hauser who have had no experience in industry are worse off than other applicants. It is therefore not surprising that he has so far had 50 rejections and that the chances of a positive reply to the remaining 20 are slim.

"When you find a rejection in your mail every day you suddenly feel pretty superfluous — and that naturally is depressing."

By now he asks himself if there is any point in writing still more applications, realising that potential employers are looking for people with experience.

Still, he knows that he has to do all he can if he is not to blame himself for omissions later.

"So I write letter after letter, each one a source of hope until the hope bursts like a bubble a week later," he says.

The Federal Labour Office, which has had a special centre for academics since 1981 (in Frankfurt) has 76,000 jobless academics on record.

Most of them are between 25 and 35 and 15,000 are new graduates.

One-third of them take about six months or longer to be placed and in some cases they might have to wait up to two years.

Paul Lieber of the Labour Office: "In the past few months we could feel the volume of work rising from day to day."

The number of registered jobless academics almost doubled between September 1980 and December 1981.

Lieber: "In view of the limited number of vacancies — 19,000 last December — there is very little we can do."

What worries the job brokers above all is the fact that it is now no longer the classical problem cases like teachers, social workers and political scientists that give them the headaches but also scientists and engineers.

For example: of the 1,000 chemists who graduated last year, one in five was still jobless by the end of the year. With the 1,200 newly qualified physicists, the figure was one in ten.

There are also a total of 15,000 jobless engineers marine biologists, geologists and mineralogists who stand virtually no chance at all. Only ten years ago, these professions were in demand.

Despite all the discussion on the subject, educational and employment policy makers can do little in the face of the sheer number of jobless academics.

Retraining programmes, as for instance for electronic data processing, exist only for the 25,000 jobless teachers and humanities graduates. The Kiel Institute for the World Economy estimates that there will be 150,000 by 1990.

For the rest, the Federal Labour Office does little more than commission studies on the past and the future of university graduates.

But it is little help to those beginning their university studies and to those who have completed them to know that a detailed report by the Institute for Labour and Vocational Research concludes that the job deficit for academics will worsen in the course of the 1980s.

Many of these people will have to use alternative strategies and with some of them this will in any event coincide with their desire for an alternative way of life and survival.

It is impossible to come up with exact figures on the future demand for graduates.

Paul Lieber: "We have no statistics to enable us to get a better picture of the market. In fact, what we need is a new population and vocational census. The last census was 12 years ago, and there is no money for a new one."

The Labour Office does not even have any reliable figures on the current number of annual new graduates. Official statistics go only as far as 1979.

Labour Office job brokers have to rely on the projections that the Standing Conference of Education Ministers released two years ago.

According to those estimates, there should have been 118,000 new graduates last year, the anticipated figure for this year being 124,000. The climax is expected in 1991/92 with about 200,000 new academics.

Even given a favourable economic situation, it is certain that there will not be enough jobs to go around.

Not until the mid-1990s, when the low birthrate years graduate, will the number of new graduates start to diminish.

Policitians have in fact already started to comfort our jobless academics today by pointing to that year.

Anke Fuchs, at that time still Parliamentary State Secretary at the Labour Ministry, some time ago advised university graduates to be prepared to start their professional careers by taking jobs that do not require a university degree.

This must sound like mockery to the newly graduated physicist Wilfried Hauser who has already applied for many jobs below his qualifications.

But the companies he wrote to for these jobs turned him down for fear that he would quit the moment a better opportunity presented itself.

Unless he finds a job soon, he intends to work as a taxi driver or a storeman. He has little choice but to earn a living because he is saddled with the repayment of the DM14,000 loan he needed to finance his last year at university.

But once he has done such work for a couple of years he might no longer be acceptable for a job as a physicist.

It would therefore make more sense for him to battle it out with the competition and find a job in his own field after all.

Even though he is not applying for a job as a typist, he has adopted the advice of various heads of personnel departments: the appearance of the application must be neat.

The typing must be clean and the application must include complete background material (including the high school graduation certificate) in a see-through folder, and the enclosed photograph must not come from a photo machine.

A personnel officer who has to read 100 applications a day has at best five minutes for each and good presentation is the only way in which an applicant can catch his attention. In fact, some heads of personnel expect applications to be done on an electric typewriter.

A personnel officer at the Federal Environment Office says: "Overtyped mistakes are no longer acceptable even if the applicant is a scientist. An application must please visually as well."

And the head of the AEG-Telefunken training department has this comment: "In earlier years it was the employer who had to sell himself; today it's the applicant, and selling includes packaging."

University graduates account for only seven per cent of the working population and are thus a minority. But we must not forget that their education has cost a great deal of time and money.

Physicist Hauser: "I cannot believe it was all in vain."

Irene Mayer-List

(Die Zeit, 21 May 1982)

Boost for private university

Experts of the SPD group in North Rhine-Westphalia's State Assembly have recommended that the state government give the green light for the establishment of the planned private university in Herdecke, in the Ruhr area.

The licence would presuppose that the university foundation accepts all co-determination regulations that apply to state universities.

University places must not be made available for money and the project must not cost the state anything.

dpa

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 May 1982)

■ MODERN LIVING

Behind the cold statistics of rising crime

Crime, like inflation, was up last year. Statistics just published by the Standing Conference of *Land* Interior Ministers reveal a 6.7-per-cent increase over 1980 in the number of criminal offences registered by the German police. The increase was higher for serious larceny, white-collar and environmental crime.

The latest crime statistics show an all-round increase, with a marked tendency toward violence and even more offences committed by foreign nationals.

The response to the annual statistics is likely to follow an even better-established routine, with the Opposition accusing the government of allowing law and order to be neglected.

The police and the legal authorities will clamour for more manpower. The public will call for tougher legislation and even more draconian punishment.

Suggestions that Germany is increasingly becoming a playground for criminals and crime are sure to give rise to both emotion and anxiety.

In individual respects the latest figures may have some meaning, but in general they may be seen mainly as documentation testifying to the hard work of the police.

An estimated ten million crimes a year are committed in the Federal Republic of Germany; only about four million ever come to light.

The percentage of crimes that go undetected is high not only for minor offences, such as shoplifting or tax fiddles, but also for crimes of a more serious nature.

The police claim to solve nearly all murder cases, but what about the ones that got away? Herr Wehner, the head of Düsseldorf CID, once made a wry but apt comparison in *Kriminalistik* magazine.

Graveyards, he said, would be bathed in light at night if there were only a lighted candle on every tombstone of a person who died through foul play.

This is doubtless overstating the case, but it is an honest reminder not to believe every superficial conclusion that may be drawn from crime figures.

Only two million of the four million offences detected lead to legal proceedings, and only half a million or so go to the stage at which a sentence is passed.

Only about 10 per cent of offenders sentenced are given gaol sentences. Is that doing justice in such a way as to salve the conscience?

Surely not. The difference between 10 million offences and 50,000 given gaol sentences would seem to bear out those who claim that the penal system is based on class justice.

Those caught in the dragnet are mainly the socially weak and underprivileged who lack the cash and education needed to influence the court case and its consequences.

So it is equally superficial to claim that young people, foreigners and habitual offenders account for an above-average proportion of crime.

Young people are beginners and more easily caught than old hands. Foreigners live in every respect in a ghetto and stand less chance of avoiding the clutches of the law by virtue of being so alien to their surroundings.

People who already have a criminal record have always been the first the police check in their search for the culprit in cases of serious crime.

Scientific evidence can be adduced to prove that all sections of the population, poor and rich, educated and uneducated, young and old, are equally likely to commit a crime.

Yet since the Kaiser's days the old wives' tale that the underprivileged are particularly liable to come into conflict with social norms has retained its popularity.

Legislation has often been passed with this assumption in mind, and law enforcement has promptly lent statistical support to the original assumption.

It is a vicious circle that could only be broken by taking a closer look at the system of social standards as a whole.

As it is, the annual crime figures tend, in both the public and the official view, mainly to prove that society is going to rack and ruin.

Seldom is there any mention made of the enormous disparity between police figures and statistics of offenders on whom sentence is passed.

It may no doubt be due in part to the assumption the police may naturally be expected to make, the assumption that the worst is true.

A century ago the French humanist and writer Anatole France derided a regulation that was purportedly valid for everyone. It was a ban on sleeping out under the bridges of Paris.

As if a Rockefeller would ever have been in danger of breaching that one!

There is more to crime figures and penal law norms than meets the eye. Constant calls for more manpower in the police force tend merely to confuse the issue.

More men in the force leads as a rule to more crime, statistically at least, even though only a handful more undetected crimes are detected.

The fight against narcotics and drug offenders is a fair example of the kind of increase meant.

In other words, crime figures are not statistics that are suitable for superficial use in political mud-slinging, although they may well lend themselves to being used for this purpose.

They need handling more carefully.

Karl-Heinz Krumm

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 May 1982)

Unholy row over sex in sects

Inge Donnepp, Justice Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, plans a campaign to fight the malpractices of sects that prey on the young, such as the Children of God.

They use psychological terror to keep members dependent on them, in anxiety and isolation. They also exploit them financially.

After reading documents drawn up by the Düsseldorf public prosecutors against the Children of God she even talked in terms of criminal practices.

The public prosecutor's office has asked the Düsseldorf police to reinforce the CID unit detailed to investigate the activities of the Children of God and another group suspected of similar offences.

The investigating officers are said to have amassed evidence strongly indicating that the Children of God for one are guilty of a wide range of offences.

They include many instances of encouraging members to prostitute themselves, of sexual abuse of the young, of embezzling cash donated in street collections and of brainwashing members.

Frau Donnepp says that in a welfare state governed by the rule of law pseudo-religious groups cannot be allowed to misuse inexperienced youngsters as pliable by instruments, made malleable psychological programming, for use in lucrative fund-raising activities.

She has appealed to all authorities to ensure that the activities of youth sects of this kind, which she generally classifies as criminal, are brought to an end as soon as possible.

State Secretary Nelles of the North Rhine-Westphalia Labour and Social Affairs Ministry briefed a state assembly hearing on the sect problem at the end of April.

The state government, he said, was also keeping a worried and attentive eye on groups that almost exclusively recruited adult members.

All such groups tended to totally cut members off from society and make them lose all sight of reality.

The groups he mentioned as coming in this category were the Scientologists, the Family of Love, the Divine Light Mission, the Transcendental Meditation movement, the Rajneesh Foundation and the Aktionsanalytische Aktion, a group run by an Austrian, Otto Mühl.

Karlegon Halbach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 May 1982)

Kidnapping on the increase as kidnappers get cleverer

Children seem to be kidnapped and held to ransom more often these days, just as the crime rate generally seems to be on the increase.

Between 1949 and 1961 there were only three cases in the Federal Republic of Germany. There have since been 19, including half a dozen in the past 16 months.

It seems to be a fashionable offence, and parents are worried in high-class residential suburbs such as Hahnwald, Cologne, where Johannes Erlemann, aged 11, was kidnapped a year ago and Nina von Gallwitz, 8, a few months later.

They escort the children to school every morning and collect them again at lunchtime. Children are only allowed to play under supervision in public parks.

The Gallwitz case could easily start a ball rolling. It is characterised by a degree of criminal intensity unprecedented in Germany.

In the past the kidnappers have almost invariably been caught. Most were loners or psychopaths in mental or financial difficulty.

A typical instance was the case of the Turkman who held a child to ransom because he wanted to buy a moped.

The police have usually been able to be confident they would get their man when he broke cover to collect the ransom money.

But since the Gallwitz case the police strategy and the usual assumptions on kidnappers have no longer been applicable. It was the first time the police were confronted by a nearly perfect group crime and a virtually insoluble task.

The hand-over of the ransom money was so well arranged that the police were unable to intervene because they had no idea it was happening.

The relaying of messages to the parents or their aides was so sophisticated and arranged with such complication that the police could do nothing, neither knowing when messages were exchanged or being able to draw inferences as to the abductors.

The messages were couched in pidgin German as a further camouflage.

But the length of time the case lasted and the way in which it was carried out called more southerly climes to mind. In Italy or South America kidnapping cases last months.

There is no intention of deliberately torturing the child. The relationship between professional kidnappers and the abducted child is best described in terms of what criminologists call depersonalisation.

The victim is a means to an end and well treated, or as well as possible in the circumstances. Since the kidnappers are cool and level-headed, the child's life is fairly safe.

Panic reactions such as can seize lone kidnappers, usually leading to the death of the child, are most unlikely to occur in cases such as these.

These are kidnappers who are interested strictly in cash. Wherever possible they will avoid murder. The Cologne police, realising they were dealing with professionals, were expecting Nina von Gallwitz to be returned unharmed.

So she has been, but the entire business is most alarming. If the Gallwitz case sets an example, professional kidnappers will stand to run much less risk than, say, bank robbers.

This is mainly because the police will, for much of the time, be forced by the parents to keep their hands folded. The kidnappers are well aware of this aspect and put it to good use.

The parents' desire to increase their child's chances by keeping the police out of it is understandable. As a rule the police must agree.

But in the Gallwitz case the police had no idea whatever what was going on for much of the time. Contact was maintained via intermediaries both sides trusted.

Interior Ministers would do well to set up without delay a Bundeskriminalamt flying squad to deal with kidnapping.

Werner Birkenmaier

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